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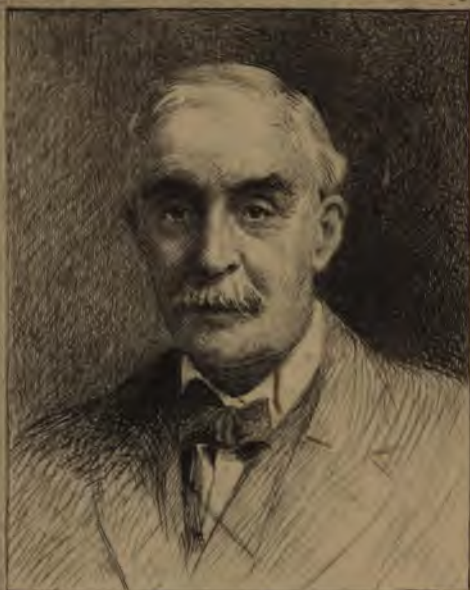
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THE
LIFE OF ANSELM,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

TRANSLATED AND ABRIDGED
FROM THE GERMAN OF
Friedrich
F. R. HASSE,
PROFESSOR OF EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN.

BY
THE REV. WILLIAM TURNER, M.A.
Vicar of Boxgrove.

LONDON :
FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD AND WATERLOO PLACE.

1850.

44

11-10-38

11-28-38 U.A.

PREFACE.

IN the Translation which I have attempted of the Life of Anselm, from the German of Hasse, I fear that I may have taken too great liberties in the way of abridgement and alterations. But the objects which I have had in view, have been to make a short, readable book, to keep Anselm as much as possible in the foreground, and not to give offence to Roman Catholic or Protestant readers. Hasse has judiciously omitted many of the puerilities of Eadmer, whose "Vita Anselmi" and "Historiæ Novorum" contain but too palpable evidence of having been written, as old Fuller would say, "with a pen made by a Monkish pen-knife." Yet on the whole, the attachment and

PREFACE.

devotion of the mediæval Boswell to his resolute Master, is full of the deepest interest, and the unaffected simplicity of his narrative gives us a faithful picture of the trials and sufferings of his eventful life. The edition of "Anselmi Opera" which I have used is that of Gerberon, Paris, 1721, and I have verified with a few exceptions all the references. The quotations from Mabillon, William of Malmesbury, &c., I have taken on Hasse's authority, not having had access to those works.

Boxgrove Vicarage,

Chichester,

May 14th, 1850.

*Too little / Personal. wholly
factual. No literary, or
theological information.*

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CHAPTER THE FIRST.

THE MONASTERY OF BEC.

IN the eleventh century the Monastery of Bec was established in Normandy, about 16 miles south west of Rouen.

Herluin, the Founder of this Monastery, was a genuine Norman. For his father, Ansgot, was descended from the Danes who had first settled in that country, and his mother, Heloise, was related to the Frankish family of the Earls of Flanders. After the death of his father, he was brought up at the Court of Giselbert, Earl of Brionne. Herluin was distinguished for his bravery and love of chivalric exercises.

A brilliant career was open before him, when suddenly in his 37th year (1031), he became in every respect an altered man. He was disgusted with the world, and avoided all intercourse with his former companions. He appeared as seldom as possible, at

the court of the Earl. On the other hand he was observed to attend the Church daily, and pass whole nights there in fervent prayer and tears. In a short time, he entirely laid aside his armour, clothed himself in the meanest apparel, and suffered his hair and beard to grow. It caused the greatest sensation when he once appeared at court in this attire, and being placed at the Earl's table, satisfied himself with bread and water, whilst the others feasted and caroused. He could never be induced again to mount a horse, and as the highest indulgence rode an ass, when he could not accomplish his journey on foot. At first men ridiculed and esteemed him not quite sane. For, as his Biographer⁽¹⁾ remarks, at that time in Normandy, it was a thing unheard of, that a knight of sound limbs should become a Monk. Afterwards, serious remonstrances were made to him that he should cease from his folly; but neither friendly advice, nor threats, nor insults were of any avail. Herluin continued in his adopted mode of life, and for three years endured the annoyances of his situation, for he was unwilling to quit the service of the Earl of Brionne, until he was assured that he might receive the property which he held in fee from him, and which he would have willingly expended on his intended institution, as Giselbert adds: "like the children of Israel, who would not depart from Egypt without taking with them something for the service of the Lord"; yet he

(1) Giselbert the curled (crispinus) Monk of Bec, afterwards Abbot of Westminster (1085-1117) whose *Vita Herluini* is found in the Appendix of Lanfranc's Works. Edited by l'Achery. Paris, 1648.

knew not how he should commence this Institution, and to whom he should turn for advice. "So great was the lack of spiritual examples in Normandy." Once his Earl wished to send him to the Duke Robert, in order to gain him over to his side in a quarrel in which he was involved. But Herluin, "a man of peace," was not inclined to contribute to the injury of his neighbour, and refused to deliver his commission. The Earl insisted on his compliance: Herluin was thus reduced to the necessity of renouncing an earthly or a heavenly master, and he hesitated not a moment in his choice. He departed from the service of the Earl, who immediately took possession of the whole of his property. This loss lightly affected Herluin; but when he saw how the Earl exacted compensation from his former people, he could not refrain from approaching him once more. "Willingly," says he, "I leave to you my property; only spare these poor people who have in nothing offended." The Earl was affected and replied, as he drew Herluin aside, "Would that I only actually knew what to make of you? I must confess that you are a riddle to me. Say, what has happened to you, and what are your intentions?" Herluin replied in an agitated voice: "This may be expressed in few words. Whilst I served the world and you with love, I thought not on God and my soul; now these shall be my only care. Therefore I request of you permission to spend the rest of my days in a Cloister. Then I shall never cease to remain attached to you in my heart. And if at any time I have performed you a service, requite

it to God, whilst you devote to his use what I have earned with you." The Earl could no longer oppose his wishes; he not only released Herluin from his duty of allegiance towards him, but restored to him his property free from every incumbrance.

At once Herluin commenced the building of a Monastery on one of these estates named Borneville, where he himself assisted in digging the foundations for the wall, and when the others rested, carried stone, and lime, and sand on his shoulders, and laid it ready for their use: only in the evening he partook of a little refreshment, and in the night studied the Psalter, which was the more difficult as he now first learnt to read. When the building was ready, he went to the best monasteries in the neighbourhood, in order to make himself acquainted with the manner of living of the monks. With the deepest reverence, and not without the utterance of a silent prayer, he drew near to the gate, "as if it had been the gate of Paradise itself." But when he obtained admission, how was he undeceived; for at once he was aware of a multitude of things which seemed to intimate anything but a holy life. He was so overwhelmed with astonishment that he hesitated to advance or retreat. The Porter took him for a thief who had lost his way, and was anxiously looking about for an escape, and rushing upon him, seized him by the hair and thrust him out of the cloister without listening to a word in reply. Herluin endured it all with patience, and then wandered home again. At Christmas (1034) he went to a still more celebrated Monastery. But

here also he perceived how, during the procession, the monks irreverently nodded to the secular clergy, giggled and made a display of their beautiful robes, and were so jealous for precedence, that one of the foremost struck to the ground with his fist the man behind for pressing upon him; "so frightfully rude were the monasteries at this time in Normandy." But to his consolation, on the following night, when he had remained behind in a corner of the Church to pray, he remarked one monk who had knelt down close to him, and passed the whole night in prayer, at one time kneeling, at another with his face cast down on the ground. At length when he found no monastery which he could take for a model, he determined to establish his own "as far as he himself understood." It was consecrated by Herbert, Bishop of Lisieux, from whom he received the tonsure and the dress of his order; and when the first monks were assembled he was ordained Prior. Three years later (1037) he became Abbot.⁽¹⁾ The rule of life which Herluin introduced, corresponded entirely with the most antient monasteries of Berno. Prayer and the most simple hand labour succeeded each other. After the morning service, the whole body preceded the Abbot into the field, sowed, tilled, and manured it, and rooted out the thorns. All labour was to be common: the Abbot placed himself entirely on a level with the rest. At the hour of prayer they assembled again in the Church. Herluin allowed himself the night only

(1.) He undertook this office "quia propter paupertatem loci illius quivis alius regimen ipsum nolebat suscipere. *Chron. Bec.*

for study. Their food was rye bread and herbs, which they dressed with water and salt: moreover the water was very bad, since they drew it from ponds in the fields, because within a circuit of two miles no fresh springs could be found. It was esteemed a peculiar comfort when they happened to receive wheaten bread or a cheese as a present. The severe discipline which Herluin exercised upon himself, put to silence every movement of discontent: he also conducted himself towards his monks with paternal authority. To his great joy, his mother resolved to retire into the Monastery, and notwithstanding her high birth, submitted to the lowest offices, in washing the clothes of the Monks. But this Monastery existed only a few years, for once as Heloise was baking bread, a fire burst forth and reduced it to ashes.

Herluin was at this time in the field, when the tidings were brought to him by a monk, who also added, that "his mother was burnt to death." Herluin burst into tears, stretched forth his arms, and uttered in broken accents, "I thank thee, O God, that at least she has died in thy service." But this information proved to be unfounded; Heloise had been saved, and Herluin with more tranquillity now witnessed the conflagration of his building. He was afterwards induced to look out for a better site,—He therefore went lower down the (Bache) Brook, from which the Monastery was called "Bec,"^(1.) a bye stream of the Risle, which in its lower course ran

(1.) This name is of German origin, and one of the few remains of the language from the Danes or Franks that have continued in Normandy. To

through a valley, in the Forest of Bironne. There were three mills in this valley; in other respects it was thickly wooded, and since the Brook attracted abundance of game, the Earl Giselbert, whose castle was within a mile, frequently hunted in this district. Therefore Herluin had some difficulty in obtaining permission to settle there, because the forest belonged to different persons, although the site on which he wished to build was his own property. Yet after he had gained the consent of the Earl,⁽¹⁾ the others willingly complied; he gradually purchased their rights in the Forest, and ultimately brought the whole into the possession of the Monastery. This building, as the former, was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, 25th February, 1040, and advanced joyfully in its progress; yet the cares of its external administration multiplied, and to his great annoyance Herluin was soon aware that these had so great a claim upon his time, that he was unable to devote the necessary attention to the external life of the Monks. He therefore looked out anxiously for an Assistant, when God conducted him to one in the person of a man, who in the highest degree possessed that in which Herluin was altogether deficient—a learned education.

This man was Lanfranc, the son of a distinguished

this class belongs the word *scilla* (*skilla*, *schelle* bell) for *campana* or *nola*. At Bec they were accustomed to say, not "*campanam*," but "*scillam*" *pulsare*. Ead. Vit. 3. This word is used by Dante, *Purg.* VIII.

E che lo nuovo peregrin d'amore

Punge, se ode squilla di lontano

Che paia 'l giorno pianger, che si muore.

(1) See Notice of the foundation in the *Monast. Angl.* VII. 1067.

Patrician family at Pavia. His father had been there one of the *Conservatores Legum*, and had educated his son from his infancy, that he might succeed him in office. After the early death of his father, Lanfranc was actually elected into the Council, and had previously resided at Bologna, in order to obtain a sound knowledge of jurisprudence. He there also diligently studied dialectics. On his return to his native place, he soon surpassed the oldest and most experienced Jurists in the Law Courts, and was regarded as the juridical oracle of the City. He was therefore unwilling to assume his place in the council, but collected around him a circle of scholars, and delivered lectures. But Pavia soon became too small a sphere for his abilities; he determined to seek a more extensive field for action, and when he heard that there was a deficiency of teachers in the north of France he passed the Alps with a band of pupils, in 1040, and first opened a school at Avranches, which was frequented by all who were desirous of a higher education. But here the more he applied himself to Philosophy, as formerly Plato in his exile, according to his Biographer,⁽¹⁾ so much the more was he stimulated to the investigation of Divine things, and by their light the vanity of his previous studies becoming more apparent, at length he adopted the resolution to withdraw himself from the honorable station which he filled, and to live unto God in some retired place where he was utterly unknown. For this end he departed from Rouen in 1042; on his

(1) Milo Crispinus, whose *Vita Lanfranci*, is in l'Achery's edition of his works.

way, on this side of the Risle, at nightfall he was attacked by robbers, who stripped him of every thing, except his clothes. It then occurred to him that he had read in Gregory the Great, how once a pious man, during the war in Lombardy when his horse was stolen from him, according to the words, of Christ, had given the robbers the whip also, in order that they might manage the horse; and that the Lombards had been thereby so much affected, that they gave back to the man both horse and whip. Lanfranc also offered the robbers his clothes to awaken a feeling of shame, and in the hope that they would return him everything. But he deceived himself: for the robbers regarded it as insulting confidence, stripped him in fact of his clothes, and bound him to a tree remote from the road with his hands behind him, and his cap drawn over his face. During the long night which Lanfranc passed in this condition, he had time for all sorts of reflections: the first that occurred to him was, why his fate had been so different from that of the pious man. He must acknowledge, that the latter had followed the words of Christ with sincerity, whilst he had acted with worldly cunning. He then considered how he might find some inward consolation in his calamity. He recollected that others prayed in their necessity: he also attempted but could not accomplish it, and when he wished to strengthen himself with singing a hymn, for he had heard of some who had been able to praise God in their miseries, he discovered to his horror that he could repeat nothing by heart. He was then bitterly grieved in his spirit, and sighing said, "have I employed so

much time in studying, and know not yet how to pray or how to sing a hymn in praise of God!" All that he could do, was to vow from the ground of his heart, that if God would deliver him from this danger, in future to devote himself to his service. At daybreak he heard some travellers passing at a distance. He then began to cry aloud for help. The travellers were alarmed at the sound of a human voice, approached, and unbound Lanfranc.

As soon as they brought him back to the road, the first thing that he asked was, where was the poorest monastery in the country. They replied, there was none poorer⁽¹⁾ than that which a pious man had lately erected in the immediate neighbourhood. He requested to be shewn the way, and departed from them. This was the Monastery of Bec. On his arrival, he found the Abbot actually engaged in building a bakehouse. "God's blessing be with you," said Lanfranc. "May God requite you," replied Herluin. "It appears that you are from Lombarday." "Yes." "And what do you wish?" "To become a Monk." "Then now read this book." Whereupon Roger, a Monk, who assisted the Abbot in his work, put into his hands the Rules of the Order. Lanfranc read them, and declared his readiness, with the help of God, to obey them. "Then enter," said Herluin, and Lanfranc in raptures cast himself at his feet, embraced his knees, and vowed the most true obedience. Herluin was also not a little

(1) The poverty of Bec is noticed in the Chron. Becc. (in Lanfranc's Opera, p. 277.) *Inter alia, lucerna die ac nocte non semper ardebat in ecclesia, ut moris erat, præ inopia.*

delighted when he heard what a learned man had entered his Monastery, and Lanfranc was again astonished at the knowledge of the Scriptures possessed by this so lately converted knight. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," said Lanfranc, when mention was made of Herluin's insight into the faith. Lanfranc continued three years in the deepest retirement, and devoted himself to pious exercises, in order to learn the art in which on that night, he so bitterly found himself deficient: the art how to pray! During this time he entered into conversation with no one, so that his presence was scarcely known in the Monastery. First, when he believed that he had sufficiently subdued the vanity of his heart, he ventured again to appear as a teacher, and in compliance with the wish of Herluin, devoted himself to the instruction of the Brothers, and his name soon became celebrated beyond the precincts of the Cloister. With astonishment the world heard that the great Teacher, whom all believed dead, yet lived, and a swarm of scholars poured into Bec, so that the Monastery could scarcely contain them. Not only the neighbouring Nobles sent their children there, but men of mature age flocked in multitudes to enjoy the instruction of Lanfranc; especially Clergymen and Scholastics, and even Knights came to hear the renowned man. This had the greatest influence on the external prosperity of the Monastery: many donations were willingly presented to it, especially on account of Lanfranc. Yet he did not allow this to encroach upon his humility, and once at table, when it was his turn to read aloud, he received a reproof from his Superior,

on account of a word which he had correctly pronounced: yet he preferred speaking it incorrectly, rather than oppose his superior.⁽¹⁾ At first, indeed, he had resolved to quit the Monastery, and become a Hermit, when he saw that his reputation caused envy and ill will amongst the brotherhood. In the mean time, Herluin acquired the knowledge of his intention, and conjured him so earnestly to remain, that he could not but comply.⁽²⁾ In 1046, Herluin appointed him Prior, and entrusted to him the whole internal management of the Monastery, whilst he directed only its outward concerns.

Lanfranc now introduced a formal course of education, which embraced the collective sciences "worldly" and "spiritual,"⁽³⁾ under the former were the seven well known liberal arts, the "trivium" and "quadrivium." Grammar and Logic occupied the highest rank, grammar was intended to enable the pupil to express himself in sufficiently good Latin. Greek was not yet considered so essential: yet Lanfranc at least understood it. But he insisted much on good Latin, and has been regarded as the restorer of Latinity⁽⁴⁾ in his age, and in fact his pupils distinguished themselves not merely by correctness, but also by a certain degree of elegance of expression. But Logic was esteemed by him as by far

(1.) *Maluit Christo obedire, quam Donato.*

(2.) See J. Picard on *Ans.* Ep. II. 41.

(3.) *In sacris et sæcularibus literis erudi.* Thus in Ep. I. ad Alex. P.

(4.) See William of Malmesbury *de gestis. regg. Angl.* I.-III. in Saville Script. rer. Angl. London. 1596. p. 103. He expressly calls him *the most learned man of the time.*

the most important subject. ⁽¹⁾ Siegburt of Gemblours commonly designates him, "the Logician," and ⁽²⁾ William of Malmesbury says, "that his pupils had constantly their mouths full of it." In fact Lanfranc must have possessed the gift in a high degree, both of awakening the impulse of thought, acuteness, and precision in instruction, and of teaching the development and employment of conceptions: for in those respects all his pupils are deservedly celebrated. What other "worldly sciences" were cultivated in Bec, is not made known to us. Probably jurisprudence was one, as Savigny⁽³⁾ concludes, from the sound legal knowledge of Ivo of Chartres, who was educated there. The spiritual sciences consisted of—Exegesis, patristic and speculative Theology. It is a question whether the commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul which is attributed to Lanfranc, really belongs to him: yet it is certain that he did compose one,⁽⁴⁾ and Williram the well known paraphrast of the Song of Solomon, expressly celebrates the instruction in Exegesis given in Bec. The best testimony of Lanfranc's patristic acquirements, is his controversy with Berengar. Against quotations by the latter from Augustin, Ambrosius, &c., he is always ready with contradictory passages, whereby their effect is weakened, and he is always careful to pay attention to the context. His pupils also exhibit a corresponding intimacy with

(1.) De. Scrip. Eccl. c. 155. p. 112. Ed. Fabric. "ubicunque opportunitas locorum occurrit, proponit, assumit, concludit."

(2.) ubique, inflatis buccis dialecticam ructabant.

(3.) Romish Recht gesch. in WW. 13. 2. S. 226. (1 Ausg.)

(4.) Mabillon's Ann. T. V. p. 260. An. Ep. I. 57.

the Fathers, since they were taught by the example of Berengar, not to be neglectful of "Authorities," But even in Theology the dialectic element was his favorite pursuit: from the same treatise, it is evident how dexterous he was in the use of the Aristotelian Categories. Theological speculation was the highest sphere into which he conducted his pupils, and all his contemporaries are full of admiration, at the "knowledge" which proceeded from Bec. We are deficient indeed in accurate notices on Lanfranc's method; yet it is clear, that he especially stimulated his scholars to self study, whilst he put into their hands the necessary books, and then as soon as possible, caused them to exercise themselves in the repetition of what they had learnt, by appointing them as under teachers. He also furnished the Monastery with an excellent library. Besides, exercises in disputation, and conversations connected with the lectures were the chief means of education. Every one might gratuitously reside in the Monastery as long as he wished, and without any special vows, enjoy the advantages of Lanfranc's instruction: for Herluin had rather, that the monks, than the scholars should starve, and notwithstanding the continued poverty of the Monastery, in spite of all endowments, he added one building after another for the reception of strangers.

The literary reputation of the Institution was extraordinary. Milo Crispinus says, "all Athens appears to be reanimated in Bec." Scholars came not only from France, but from England, Germany, and Italy. The above mentioned Williram, Scholastic of Bamberg, (then monk of Fulda, and lastly Abbot of Ebersberg in Bavaria,

ob. 1085.) expected from Bec a new epoch of science, even for Germany. The Monastery was already possessed of many Abbeys, and in 1061, one of its pupils, the Milanese Anselm of Badagio mounted the Papal throne as Alexander II. But it was not only the excellent education which was given at Bec, which obtained for it celebrity, but also the exemplary discipline that prevailed there. The rule of St. Benedict was nowhere better observed, and this abode of piety and learning appeared more conspicuous, as it arose in the midst of a country which at that time, more than any other in Europe, resounded with the din of weapons and war, where every sword of Chivalry seemed to procure a victory, and where even the possessors of Ecclesiastical dignities were entirely degraded and influenced by worldly impulses.

Yet however high the Monastery stood in reputation, it was first to obtain its most elevated pitch by a man, who united in himself in the most perfect degree, the two elements of its celebrity, the religious and scientific, and at once became Herluin and Lanfranc in his own person, by Anselm.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

(1) ANSELM'S ENTRANCE INTO THE MONASTERY.

Anselm was born in the year 1033, in the Piedmontese city of Aost, at the foot of the Alps. His mother Ermenberga was a native of Aost, where Gundulf his father who was of a noble family in Lombardy had settled. Both were possessed of property ; but the father had wasted his by bad management, and led a worldly and dissipated life unto the end, when at least to be able to die happily he assumed the dress of a monk. The mother on the other hand, was a thrifty housewife, who by her economy endeavoured to repair her husband's extravagance, and remained always

(1.) The chief source of this and the following chapter is the *Life of Anselm* by Eadmer, Monk of Canterbury, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrew's. The *Vita S. Anselmi*, by John of Salisbury, and what is related of him by the English and Norman Chroniclers, is almost verbally taken from Eadmer.

tranquil in the faithful discharge of her domestic duties. Besides Anselm they had a daughter, Richera, who was attached to her brother with her whole soul.⁽¹⁾ Anselm also makes mention of two maternal uncles. Lambert and Folcerald, and calls them his "dulcissimos nutrito-
tores."⁽²⁾

The boy received his first instruction from his mother, and as a pure child of the Alps (utpote puer inter montes nutritus) he thought when they told him of the God above, who ruled over and comprehended all things, of God as a mighty king who sat enthroned in the blue heaven on the summit of the Alps. Under the influence of this impression, he set out once in a dream to visit this king, and when at the foot of the mountain, he saw his servants employed in gathering in the harvest, but perceiving that they were indolent in their work, he determined to make a complaint of them before God. After he had scaled summit after summit he at last arrived at the fortress of the great king. He was favorably received, invited to enter, asked what was his business, listened to attentively, had a piece of bread given him by the sewer, which wonderfully refreshed him after his wearisome long journey. On the following morning the boy obstinately and firmly maintained, that he had actually been in heaven and eaten at the table of the Lord. Thus he grew up and was soon afterwards sent to school, when he distinguished himself by his industry and good conduct to the great joy of all.

He was not yet fifteen years old, when he began to

(1.) Ep. III. 67.

(2.) Ans. Ep. I. 18-45.

reflect how he could spend his life in a manner most acceptable to God. Nothing appeared to him more adapted to this end than the monastic life. He applied to an Abbot with whom he was acquainted, who wished him to undertake nothing without the consent of his father. Then the boy prayed unto God that he would permit him to be extremely ill, for then he might surely hope to be admitted, (according to the prevailing principle, not to deny this last consolation to the dying.) The sickness really befel him, and Anselm now applied to the Abbot with the most urgent request to be received into the Cloister. But the Abbot was not even now to be moved: in the opinion of Eadmer, God was unwilling that the youth destined for other countries and people, should be immured in a monastery in his own land: Anselm must now for a time abandon his design.

After the recovery of his health, his zeal gradually cooled. He not only thought no more of a monastic life, but gave up his studies, and applied himself to chivalric exercises. The world with its joys smiled upon him: his mother alone restrained his worldly affections: but he soon lost also this last moral curb: Ermenberga died, "and the little ship of his heart was tossed (anchorless) on the wide sea." He would have been fully immersed in worldly vanities if he had not fallen into other society, than that of his Father, whose example exercised the worst influence upon him. But in a short time, a quarrel took place between them. It is not quite clear, what was the cause of their disagreement. Eadmer only says, that the father persecuted him more on account of his good, than his bad conduct:

and that no mildness was able to appease his wrath. Enough, Anselm determined to quit house and home, rather than bring himself and his father into bad repute. With a small stock of provisions, ^(1.) and as it seems, accompanied by the domestic Chaplain, he commenced his pilgrimage. Their victuals failed them on Mount Cenis. They were forced to quench their thirst with snow, and Anselm soon grew so weak, that he could advance no further. Then after a second search in the pack, which was carried by an ass, they found one loaf left. Thus they fortunately crossed the Alps, and Anselm resided three years, partly in Burgundy, partly in France. ^(2.)

At length he settled in Normandy, at Avranches. Here he heard of the great reputation of his countryman Lanfranc at the neighbouring Bec. His antient desire of study now revived; he travelled to Bec, to place himself entirely under the guidance of Lanfranc. With the greatest zeal he devoted himself to the sciences. Day and night he pored over his books, to recover lost time: however cold it might be, he remained during the winter nights, even to the full dawn of day; meat and drink on this account were often forgotten. He soon made such proficiency, that Lanfranc entrusted him with the instruction of others. This exertion rendered him again favorable to a monastic life. He thought within himself, as he afterwards confessed, that it might yet not be so difficult to renounce

(1.) uno qui sibi ministraret Clerico comitatus.

(1.) Of these three years no notices have come down to us.

the world, since he was already living as a Cloister Brother. Only he knew not where he should enter. In Bec, he thought, he should not succeed together with Lanfranc; in Clugny he still less in his place, since everything there was on the best establishment. For still he was only anxious to attain a brilliant field for his efficiency. "I was not yet tamed, nor dead unto the world," he was accustomed to say, when he afterwards reflected on this time of his life. "Thereupon I deceived myself with the illusion, as if it were only under the impulse of love, that I was acting, whilst I thought I could not be useful in other places, and saw not how really dangerous was this deception." But in time he began to reflect still more seriously on the affair. He asked himself whether it was called being a Monk, when one wished only to gratify his own ambition, and whether Humility was not actually the first requisite for a Disciple of Christ. He therefore resolved to choose Bec as his place of abode, since he knew no other place, where he could better exercise himself in this virtue. "This shall be my resting place," he exclaimed: "here shall God alone be my effort, his love my enquiry, his blessed and ever enduring remembrance my trust and consolation." Yet he hesitated between three things, whether he should actually enter the Monastery, or become a Hermit, or living on his own means in the neighbourhood of the Cloister, employ himself in works of charity and devotion. For his father was now dead, and the whole of his inheritance had come to him. According to the words of Scripture, "Do nothing without advice, and when thou

hast once done, repent not," (Ecclus. xxxii. 19.) he consulted his beloved Teacher, who referred him to the decision of Maurilius,⁽¹⁾ Archbishop of Rouen, in whose Diocese the Monastery was situated. Lanfranc himself accompanied him there, and so entirely resolved was Anselm to submit to his guidance, that as they passed through a great Forest, he declared his willingness at Lanfranc's request, to settle there as a Hermit, and never again appear among men. The Archbishop decided for his entrance into the Monastery. Thus Anselm, in his twenty-seventh year, 1060, became a Monk at Bec.

(1.) Archbishop from 1055 to 1067.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

ANSELM AS PRIOR.

Anselm remained an ordinary Monk only three years. In 1062, Duke William II. (the Conqueror, 1036-1087) as an atonement for his marriage with a near relation, Matilda, Countess of Flanders, founded the Monastery of St. Stephen, at Caen ; and since he had to thank the influence of Lanfranc for the Papal dispensation for this marriage, who applied for it in Rome, he appointed him Abbot of his newly founded Cloister, although he first required an express command from Pope Alexander II. before Lanfranc accepted the dignity.⁽¹⁾ Anselm at this time was in such high reputation at Bec, that Herluin nominated him Prior, in the room of Lanfranc, 1063.

(1.) Vita Lanfranci. c. VIII.

In this character he had the superintendence of the whole internal life of the Monastery, not only the direction of the studies, but the inspection of the discipline and the actual care of souls. Two qualities which he possessed in an eminent degree, enabled him to discharge these duties: a great knowledge of mankind, and a burning zeal for their spiritual welfare. The former, according to Eadmer's beautiful remark, rested on his deep knowledge of God.⁽¹⁾ By this means he had acquired an insight into the innermost nature of things, and the recesses of the human heart. He was at once able to penetrate the most distinct characters: "He was to every one, who heard him speak, as if he had discovered his most hidden secrets. He revealed to him the good and evil inclinations of his heart, shewed him their origin, their formation, their establishment as virtues or vices: he instructed him how he should struggle against the latter and cultivate the former." The "spirit of counsel" appeared to rest upon him: no one knew better how to apply it to peculiar necessities. Moreover he had the most amiable readiness to give admission to every one, to help them in the right way, and to stimulate and promote their better efforts. It might be said of him, as of the holy Martin, "Christ, righteousness, and eternal life were never out of his mouth."

He paid the most careful attention to the younger members of the Monastery, since in these, he expected a greater capability for instruction. For he was accus-

(1.) Hinc perspicaciori interius sapientiæ luce perfusus. An. Vit. 3.

11
tomed to liken men to wax, which should be neither too hard nor too soft, in order to receive the impression of the seal ; if too hard, no impression can be made : if too soft, it soon melts away. Men, who even to their old age, have occupied themselves with the things of this world, are too much hardened to understand the secrets of the Kingdom of Heaven. Children, on the other hand, are much too soft to retain a lasting impression : but the period of youth is the proper time to work upon the mind, while steadfastness and receptivity yet exist in a happy amalgamation. "Therefore, I watch over the youth with the greatest care, seek as far as I am able to restrain the development of evil, to awaken the germs of good, strengthen and set them in action, in order that in this disposition, they may be able to receive the formation of the spiritual man."

11
But how far Anselm wished to avoid every kind of constraint, will be evident from a conversation which he once had with an Abbot, who on a visit at Bec, complained of the annoyance which his boys caused him. "Day and night," said he, "they must feel the rod, and yet are continually worse." "Thus," says Anselm, "you perceive the advantage of flogging." "Tell me, Master Abbot," he continued, "if you plant a tree in your garden, and so hedge it in on all sides, that it no where can spread out its branches, what will be the result?" "I suppose, a crooked, stunted, useless tree." "The same holds good with the boys who are planted in the garden of the Church, and entrusted to you, that they may grow and bring forth fruit unto God. If you allow them no liberty, but enclose them on all sides

with terrors and stripes and threatenings, thus cramped, their spirits are lowered: wicked and perplexed thoughts shoot forth in them like crooked thorns: they encourage and foster them, become obstinate in their dispositions, and utterly intractable for discipline and instruction. When they never behold love in you, they can have no confidence in you, and impute every thing to hatred and evil. As they advance in age, their suspicions increase, till at length they see in every one their born enemy. But now, I ask you, in God's name why are you so cruel towards them? And what would you say, if you were thus treated? Even the goldsmith does not merely hammer the piece of metal which he wishes to form into something: but he unfolds, and stretches, and smooths and softens it. Bread⁽¹⁾ is certainly a good and strengthening food: but give it at once to a newborn child, and you will choke it. Even so, one must first win the heart with mildness and patience, and friendliness, before stricter means can be applied."—The Abbot was convinced, and promised to reform.⁽²⁾

Even at the commencement of his Priorship, he had sufficient occasion for the application of these principles. A greater part of the monks were anything but satisfied with his rapid promotion: Anselm appeared to them too young, and they thought (*juxta conversionis ordinem*) that they had an equal right to precedence with himself. This tone did not escape the notice of the youth of the Monastery, and they took occasion to

(1.) S. Basil Ep. XLII.

(2.) Eadm. Vit. 8. See Ans. Ep. I. 58. an interesting letter on the same subject.

oppose the new Prior in every possible way, so that in fact he had no easy appointment. But as he only opposed the seniors by zealously fulfilling all the duties of his office toward them, which failed not in bringing them over to his side, so by his forbearance and mildness he shortly succeeded in breaking through the perverse haughtiness of the youth. Amongst them there was one of great abilities, and extremely popular, named Osbern, but full of presumption and wickedness, and who took the greatest delight in giving every annoyance to Anselm. The latter expressed no marks of sorrow at his conduct, but paid a conscientious attention to him, and by this means succeeded in at least stifling the ill will of Osbern against him. He then began to exhibit towards him marks of friendship and affection, distinguished him before the others, and gained his confidence to such a degree, that the young man became serious, and began of his own accord to be attentive to Anselm. Anselm then proceeded to deprive him of a part of those little indulgences which had been allowed, and as he saw him more attentive and serious, he treated him with greater severity. Not only warnings, but also punishments were applied, and at length every thing was cut off which Anselm had hitherto granted. The youth bowed in obedience to the strict discipline, and Anselm now entertained hopes of forming him into a useful member of the Church, when Osbern fell ill. Every assistance was in vain: in vain Anselm watched night and day at his bedside, prepared for him his meat and drink; he had the misery of seeing him expire in his arms. This truth-

fulness affected the others: they saw what a heart Anselm had for his own, and all exerted themselves to replace the departed, "and to become inheritors of the love which he had enjoyed." All opposition disappeared: they willingly submitted to his guidance, "and soon hung upon him as a father."

Anselm continued in every way Lanfranc's method of Instruction. Yet he confesses that the teaching of Grammar⁽¹⁾ is not his favorite occupation. In Logic, the loss of his predecessor was certainly not regretted, for we have a work of his entitled "Grammaticus," which is also a Logical Exercitium, and gives us a notion of his method of teaching his pupils the art of accurate thought. It is to this speculative tendency of Apprehension, as the core and essence of things which Anselm wishes scientifically to lead his pupils, and it is worthy of admiration with what energy he knew how to keep them steady in the purest regions of Abstraction. His method of instruction in this high department was in the form of dialogue: he himself wished to learn with his pupils, and therefore imparted to them all his innermost feelings. He also communicated to his distant pupils, the fruits of his meditations.⁽²⁾ The greater part of his writings appear as such instructive conversations which he held with his more advanced pupils.⁽³⁾ Therefore several have come down to us in the form of Dialogues.

(1.) Ans. Ep. I. 55. Tu scis quam molestum mihi semper fuerit pueris declinare.

(2) Ep. II., 8.

(3.) Monologium Præf. and Ep. I. 63.

But it was not merely the culture, intellectual and moral, but also the temporal affairs of the Cloister, which occupied the attention of Anselm: at first indeed he was annoyed with the distracting multiplicity of business, and at one time he even felt the burden so oppressive, that he journeyed to Rouen, to consult the Archbishop Maurilius, whether it was not possible for him to be released from his office as Prior. He complained that he had lost his rest, and could no longer collect his thoughts. But the Archbishop remarked to him, how dangerous it was, ~~only~~ to wish to take care of oneself and not of others, from whence nothing could result but drowsiness and indolence, even in the care of one's own soul. He therefore commanded him by the holy duty of obedience, not only, not to abandon his present office, but not to refuse a higher, if it should be offered to him. "For I know," he added, "that such awaiteth thee." Anselm sighed deeply at the prospect, and with a heavy heart returned to his Cloister. He now willingly undertook the discharge of those duties which were most incompatible with that contemplative tranquillity to which he was especially disposed: and with the most unwearied self-denial, devoted himself to the Visitation of the Sick. "This, you can testify, O venerable Herewald," exclaims Eadmer, "for you were once so crippled in every member, that you could only move your tongue: how did the loving Father, day by day, enter your room, and with his own hands squeeze the grapes, whose juice was the only thing you could now taste, and which consolation you would only receive from his hands." For Anselm daily visited the

Infirmary, asked every individual what ailed him, and administered the medicine. "He was a Father to the healthy, a Mother to the sick, or rather at the same time, both father and mother to the sick and healthy."

Anselm's occupations in the Monastery increased with the advancing age of Herluin: for he now undertook nearly the whole management of the domestic administration, and we often hear him complain of being unable to get through his business, although he did not impute the blame to his office, but to his own weakness and indolence:⁽¹⁾ yet with all this outward activity, he knew how to find time for his studies, and the higher life of the soul. The day indeed passed away in the routine of giving instruction and counsel, superintendence, and other labours of his vocation: but the night was the time when he could indulge himself in the inward delights of spiritual contemplation. For in the course of a few years, fasting had become so habitual to him, that even after prolonged abstinence, he never once felt the pangs of hunger: and in like manner with watching. He scarcely ever was in bed before the early morning service; the Brothers, who had to prepare this, when they went through the Monastery, generally found him on his knees in the Chapter-room. And this was the time when he performed those silent exercises of Devotion, or studied through the learned Treasures of the Library, and improved the MSS., or at length gave himself up to meditation, and pondered over those great scientific

(1.) An. Ep. I. 42.

problems, which had been pressed upon him during his course of Instruction. The day often surprized him before he had already demonstrated his subject: for when he had once entered upon the investigation of such a problem, it was not possible for him to rest until he had found the solution; he would reflect for weeks together before he wrote anything down. What ardent labour he devoted to his speculative discoveries, is shewn amongst others, by the origin of the Ontological Argument. In the Monologium, he had demonstrated the existence of God from necessity, that of finite good, greatness, beauty, an infinite good, greatness, beauty must be the foundation, and that this entirely established by itself, must be absolute. This demonstration afterwards appeared too complicated, and he thought that the reality of this absoluteness itself might be explained by an individual argument. Scarcely had he conceived this thought, when he could no longer think of sleep or meat and drink. It distracted him even during divine service: he could no more attain right devotional feelings. This was a source of great sorrow; he began to consider the thought itself as a temptation. He struggled against it with all the powers of his will: yet the more he contended so much the more irresistibly it forced itself upon him. Under this intensity of thought he once was present at the early service of the Church: then on a sudden, he recognized in the clearest point of view, what had hitherto been so obstinately concealed from him.⁽¹⁾ "Unbounded exultation filled

(1.) An. Ep. V. 6, and præmium ad Proslogium.

him on the discovery." At once he had a waxen tablet brought to him, wrote down his discovery, and requested a monk to take away the tablet for two days, that he might be somewhat more tranquil, before he resumed the investigation. The tablet was lost when he demanded it back: yet the demonstration was so lively before his mind, that he at once dictated it afresh. But while he had not even now sufficient confidence in his decision, he gave the tablet a second time to the Monk, who in order not to lose it again, laid it under his pillow, when it was unfortunately broken during the night. Then Anselm resolved, since the discovery appeared to him too important to be lost, to entrust the same in God's name to Parchment. Such is the origin of his *Proslogium*—"volumen parvulum sed sententiarum ac subtilissimæ contemplationis pondere magnum."

Yet with all Anselm's extreme joy at such a discovery he felt the greatest modesty in making it public, and it required a special occasion to effect this. Only "at the request of the brothers" he composed the greater part of his writings. He first sent the *Monologium* to Lanfranc to be subjected to his "fatherly censure," before he ventured to have it copied.⁽¹⁾ He gave him free permission to commit the manuscript to the flames, if it met with his disapprobation. Lanfranc also must give him the title: since he had not the courage to stamp it for a Book. Thus he first acknowledged himself the Author of the *Monologium* as well as of the *Proslogium*, at the express requisition of the Papal Legate

(1.) Quoniam nihil sic mihi volor placere si vobis displiceat. An. Ep. I. 63.

in France, Hugo, Archbishop of Lyons, who commanded him "*Ex Apostolicâ Auctoritate.*" Both had originally appeared anonymously. A certain "Ansgot" once wrote to him, that he "should no longer keep his light under a bushel," whilst he reminded him of the line in Persius, "*scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.*"—Anselm replied "*scire meum nihil est, si quale sit hoc sciat alter.*" The same person asked him why his name did "not fly through the world, so far as that of Lanfranc and Guitmund." Anselm answered, "that not every flower, which perhaps looked like a rose, had the fragrance of a rose."⁽¹⁾

Notwithstanding these things, Anselm obtained no inconsiderable reputation as Prior. His name was celebrated not only throughout Normandy, but in France, England, and Germany. We behold e. g. the Abbot of Hirsau apply to him for advice in the most difficult Ecclesiastical emergencies. His writings were in esteem even as far as Lyons, and men were most anxious to enjoy the advantage of his instruction. Even Lanfranc so much acknowledged the Pædagogical superiority of his former scholar, that he sent to him his own pupils for further education. The assembly of the Monks increased yearly: Nobles, Clergy, and Knights came from the Rulers of all countries to Bec, "to give up themselves and theirs to God." The Monastery flourished internally and externally: internally, in Discipline and Piety; externally, by every kind of donation, and endowments.

(1.) An. Ep. I. 16.

Yet Anselm was most anxiously desirous of avoiding everything, which might bear the semblance of spiritual avarice. He declined every thing which seemed to interfere with his vow of poverty. His admirers were often willing to testify their affection for him by some present, which they offered to him personally, and not to the Monastery. Yet such he never received, but requested that they would give it to the Abbot, and the Brothers. So little selfish was he, that even whilst a child of the world, he was wont to say that he was unable to look on another in want near him, whilst he had abundance. "Already," Eadmer remarks "reason had taught him, that all things in the world had been created for the common use of man, by one Father of all, and therefore agreeably with the original ordinance, nothing belonged to one more than to another."

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

ANSELM AS ABBOT.

In the year 1077, Herluin had the joy to find that the newly enlarged and more beautiful Church of the Monastery, the foundation of which had been laid by himself and Lanfranc in 1059, was now finished, and that Lanfranc, who in the meantime (1070) had been made Archbishop of Canterbury, was come over from England to consecrate it. This solemnity took place on the 23rd of October, 1077, with the assistance of the neighbouring Bishops of Bayeux, Lisieux, Evreux, Seiz, and Mans; on the 26th, Lanfranc set out on his return. It was with great difficulty that Herluin tore himself away from his old friend; he accompanied him on his route for two miles, and when he returned back to his cell, gave free course to his tears, and at length expressed himself in these words, "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace: for mine eyes have seen

what they yet only desired to see on this earth : thou hast granted my prayer, thy servant is prepared joyfully to follow thee, whensoever thou callest." From this time his strength began to fail him, and he gradually lost the use of his limbs. On the 21st August, 1078, he was confined to his bed, never to rise again : on the 24th, he assembled all the Monks. Weeping, they drew near to his bed, and on account of their sobbing were scarcely able to sing the customary Psalms. After he had received absolution himself, they also desired once more to be absolved by him. From sorrow he was for a long time unable to utter a word : silent tears only ran down his cheeks. But at length he recovered himself, announced to them the forgiveness of their sins, imparted his blessing to the absent, as well as the present, and then dismissed them with these words,— " Now, children, pray for me, yet be not sorry for me, but joyful: ye surely know whither I am going."— Shortly after Vespers, on the following Sunday, at twilight, he expired.

When they proceeded to the election of a Successor, all voices fell upon Anselm. He earnestly entreated to be released from this burden, and for several days resisted their inclinations ; but when at length, falling at his feet, they conjured him, not merely to think of himself but of the Monastery, it occurred to him, what he had formerly heard from Maurilius at Rouen, and he resolved to undertake the office. The election was communicated to William, who was at that time in Normandy, in order to obtain his confirmation. He postponed it, until he should come to Brionne ; from

thence he sent three of his Nobles to Bec, to ascertain whether the Election had been unanimous, and when it had been confirmed, he summoned Anselm before him, in order to deliver unto him the Abbot's staff. With a repugnant heart, Anselm received it from the hand of a Layman, yet he had no remedy, but must conform to the order at that time prevailing. The King released him from the customary oath: one of the Bishops that were present, accompanied him back to Bec, and solemnly installed him in his office: yet the consecration was delayed until the following year. On 22nd February, 1079, he received the same from Giselbert, Bishop of Evreux, in the Church at Bec, because the See of Rouen was at that time vacant.

Anselm, as Abbot, now undertook the external administration of the Monastery, which owing to the weakness of Herluin in his latter years, he had been in great measure entrusted with; but the greater part of the business connected with this department, he committed as far as he could, to able assistants, whilst he continued to direct the internal concerns, and especially devoted himself to Instruction. Yet his new situation often required his personal attention to things for which he had little inclination: amongst these were the legal transactions. For partly, as judicial Lord of the subjects of the Monastery, he had to pronounce sentence—partly as Advocate of his Cloister to be present at the court-days of the Earldom; these were often conducted with extreme tumult, and the contending parties used every effort to ensure the victory over each other.—Yet Anselm was accustomed to sit there in the utmost

tranquillity of soul, undisturbed by all the crying and wrangling, or perhaps in the midst of the commotion, he directed himself to the nearest by-standers, in order to deliver to them a little sermon: if no one seemed willing to hear him, he had not the least hesitation to lean back in the corner of his seat, and gently fall asleep. Nevertheless, when it came to his turn to speak, with a few words he knew how to set the question under discussion in the right light, and to throw disgrace upon all knavery and cunning.

The economical department of the Monastery now belonged to him, and owing to the continued increase of its members the providing for their daily maintenance was no light charge. Notwithstanding all the legacies which it had received, Bec was on the whole a poor Cloister. Not long after Anselm was Abbot, Lanfranc sent him twenty pounds sterling; Anselm is much rejoiced thereat, "but" he adds "your gift hath come like a seasonable shower on a thirsty land, we have eagerly imbibed it without being yet satisfied: we are like the seven thin ears of corn in Pharaoh's dream, which although they devoured the rank and full ears, remained lean and ill favoured as before. For the dear market of oats and pulse, as well as the purchase of land after our beloved Herluin's death, have too much exhausted our funds." At another time Lanfranc sent gold for a sacramental cup: yet the Monastery was reduced so low, that Anselm therewith must provide for a temporary necessity. According to Eadmer, it was not uncommon in the Monastery, to be at a loss for the provisions for the following day. The "Cellerarii,

Camerarii, Secretarii" then came running to Anselm, anxiously asking what they must do. "Trust in the Lord" was his answer "who will provide counsel." And often in the same day, either alms came from rich neighbours, or ships from England appeared in the Seine, or some one entered into the Monastery with all his property, &c., yet however difficult Anselm found it to provide for the necessary expences, he exercised the Abbotical virtue of hospitality in a high degree. If means could not be elsewhere found, even the monks must contribute their portions to the entertainment of the guests, and what perhaps might be scanty in bodily nourishment, Anselm supplied by his friendly reception and cheerfulness towards the strangers, and willingness to make their abode at the Monastery as agreeable as possible. "Spaniards and Burgundians" exclaims Orderich, "and even the nearest neighbours can testify, that the gates of Bec were open to every one who called upon them."

As the Monastery had several possessions in England, Anselm had frequent occasion to cross the Channel to visit them. This he did in the first year of his office as Abbot. After a voyage of eight hours, he for the first time set his foot on that land, of which he was to be the future Archbishop. Lanfranc waited for him in a village of the See, named⁽¹⁾ Lymings, and they proceeded to Canterbury, where he was most hospitably received by the Monks of the Cathedral Cloister. He expressed to them his thanks, and at the next hour of edification

(1.) 5 Miles N. of Hythe.

enlarged upon the text, "it is more blessed to give than to receive." For he who exercises charity, procures for himself a treasure in heaven, whilst he who enjoys it, only has tolerable satisfaction in the indulgence of a passing good. Anselm tarried several days at the monastery, and enjoyed the pleasure of living once more a plain monk amongst monks. He preached daily in the Church or in the Chapter-room, and during the hours of recreation, he proposed to the more talented of the Brothers, scientific questions for their ⁽¹⁾solution. ("de divinis nec non sæcularibus libris.") But above all things, he enjoyed the society of his dear friend Lanfranc, and it was a glorious sight, to behold these two men so intimately connected, of whom the one, surpassed all contemporaries in dignity and learning, the other, in piety and wisdom.

From Canterbury, Anselm journeyed to the estates of the Cloister, and made the necessary arrangements for their management. In his way he visited the monasteries and the castles of the nobles in the neighbourhood, in order to be spiritually active, for he was unwilling that the opportunity should be unemployed, by the communication of pious advice, by the recommendation of an improvement in morals, by the excitement of Christian devotion, by the offering of consolation and instruction, to work for the kingdom of God: for he was accustomed, as Eadmer says, not in the language of a teacher, but of a friend, in confidential intercourse, to

(1.) Eadmer adds, p. 18. Quo tempore et ego ad sanctitatis ejus notitiam pervenire merui, ac pro modulo parvitatæ meæ, beata illius familiaritate, utpote adolescens, qui tunc eram, non parum potiri.

scatter the seed of the word. It was not a system of dry rules which he gave, but he made use of examples drawn from life, whose striking application was self evident. Yet he obtruded upon no one, but adapted himself, as far as conscience allowed, to the manners of different ranks, more willingly relaxed somewhat of monastic strictness, than be offensive through rudeness, and sought with the Apostle "to be made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some." Therefore every house received him with joy; men vied with each other in promoting his comfort, and young and old pressed forward to hear the honored Abbot. This turned to the advantage of his own Cloister. There was no count, or countess in England, and scarcely any person of property, who did not esteem themselves fortunate, in testifying their affection to him by some present. Even King William himself, in other respects so formidable, was so affable towards Anselm, that in his presence he appeared quite a different person.

Anselm returned to Bec, richly laden with presents; but in one of the following years he was obliged to revisit England, to obtain the Royal confirmation of the endowments which his Monastery had received. He continued there from Midlent to Whitsuntide, because the King wished to complete the original document (chartam) in the presence of the Donors, but who had not appeared collectively at the Court-day at Easter (in *curia Paschali*) so that he was obliged to wait until Whitsuntide. This time, also, he found the most honorable reception in England: in writing to the monks at Bec, he says "everywhere that I travel or

abide, I find myself at home." But he was more especially known to the King, with whom he came into nearer contact on this journey, and in whose favor he attained the highest place after Lanfranc ; for as Eadmer relates in the *History of the Time* (*Historiæ Novorum*) Anselm was the only one besides Lanfranc, who had any influence over the "Conqueror," and to whom men applied, in any business, when it was doubtful how it might be received. It was their advice which the King adopted in Ecclesiastical transactions "as far as he in any way deemed it necessary" to apply to them. It was through their influence, if at least some new Monasteries arose on the Royal Estates, if the Churches enjoyed protection and peace, and were better endowed with temporalities ; yet Eadmer adds, this provision only extended to the Churches in Normandy ! How highly William respected Anselm, is shewn in his last moments : for when he lay at Rouen ill of the mortal wound which he had received at the burning of Mantes, he sent for Anselm, in order to receive from him spiritual consolation, and assigned him a dwelling in his immediate neighbourhood. But unfortunately Anselm was sick, and when the King to escape the noise of a populous town, was conveyed to the Villa Ermentrudis on the opposite bank of the Seine,⁽¹⁾ they never again saw each other. The King expired on the 7th September, 1087, before Anselm had recovered. Robert III., his eldest son, was his successor in Normandy, who also was well disposed towards

(1.) From thence he was attentive to the comforts of Anselm, "Quicquid tum deliciarum regi infirmo deferebatur, ab eo illarum medietas Anselmo infirmanti mittebatur."

the Monastery. At the commencement of his reign, he caused them great embarrassment, by entrusting the Earldom of Brionne to a man, whom we shall afterwards be acquainted with as one of the chief enemies to the freedom of the Church, and who at once was not backward in claiming his dominion over the Monastery, the Count Robert of Meulant. Yet it only required a complaint to the Duke to ward off this danger; for the latter took back the Earldom from the Lord of Meulant, and bestowed it upon Roger de Bienfaite.

Anselm was not only on terms of intimacy with the highest worldly rulers, but also with Ecclesiastical Dignitaries. We have a letter from ⁽¹⁾Gregory VII. addressed to him, which bears testimony to the respect entertained towards him by this Pope. He was still more intimate with Urban II. (1088-1099). His connection with the Papal Throne enabled him to obtain a favour for his own Monastery, which was of great value for its independence, by securing it against spiritual oppression; viz. the exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.

The internal administration of the Monastery proceeded entirely as it had been formed under the Priorship of Anselm. The discipline, the studies, the divine service, still continued under his immediate guidance. He would more willingly have given up every other occupation than leave the care of souls to a deputy. As he had now been fifteen years as Abbot, 1078-93, having been Prior a corresponding time, one may

imagine what a height of spiritual perfection the Monastery had attained under him. During the fourteen years' administration of Herluin, 136 monks were admitted, and during the fifteen years of Anselm, 180, so that in his valedictory epistle to the monks of Bec, he could say, "For, the greater part, if not all of you came to Bec on my account."

The Monastery had already sent out spiritual colonies. Not only were individual monks from Bec promoted to ecclesiastical offices, and appointed heads of important Abbeys in order to reform them, but new foundations branched off from Bec, which were related to her, as daughters to the Mother Church. Thus first, the Monastery of L'Essay,⁽¹⁾ (Exaquium) in the Earldom of Coutances, which was founded in 1062, by a certain Turstin Holduc. Later, in 1080, the Earl Ivo de Beaumont and his wife Adelheid, gave the Church of St. Honorina in Conflans to the Monastery; and soon after, with the consent of Gottfried, Bishop of Paris, in whose Diocese the Church was situate, a body of monks went from Bec, and established it as a separate Priory. But missions from Bec were also desired in England after Anselm had been made known there. In 1080, Richard de Bienfaite and his wife Rohais, founded a Cloister in England, which they wished to be established after the model of Bec, and Anselm must supply them with a number of monks. And it was on account of a mission of this kind, that he revisited England in 1092; not indeed for a short time, but to be advanced to the Primacy of the Church there.

(1.) The Priory of Boxgrove, Sussex, was connected with this Monastery.

But before we accompany the Abbot of Bec on this journey, let us make a short digression, and turn our attention to the early history of Christianity, the state of the Church in England, and the origin of that controversy in which he so heartily engaged.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

CHURCH AND STATE.

Christianity was distinguished on its first publication as the Religion of Mankind. It did not adapt itself to individual nations, but to men as men; and on this account founded a community which exalted itself above national prejudices, and united all, whether Greeks or Romans, as children of God. By means of this universalism, the Church from its commencement regarded and constructed herself as an individual, independent organisation. Unembarrassed with regard to the kingdoms of this world, she had adopted her own form of constitution, and soon extended her influence as a well ordered system of society, throughout the whole Roman Empire. At first she was despised and disregarded as a Jewish sect: but this relationship changed, when by her out-spreading influence amongst the heathen, her universal tendency became more sensibly

T felt. For Rome was threatened in her own religion, and as heathenism was intimately connected with her government, an attack upon her Gods, was regarded as one upon herself. Thus originated that fierce struggle between Church and State, which led to the Christian persecutions of the three first centuries. It was a contest for life and death: for as the existence of the Church depended at least upon a legitimate toleration, so that of the State would be endangered by the loss of the moral restraint which Religion maintained. At first it was a Religious struggle; the question being, whether the State should remain Heathen, or become Christian. But there was a further and special enquiry; the separation of the religious and political elements, which referred to the secularization of the State; for if the State acknowledged the Church, it must acknowledge a higher, a more encroaching community—it must bow before the Church, and this feeling which was so directly opposed to the “diva majestas” claimed by the Roman Emperors, sharpened their zeal in persecuting the Church, and amounted even to a deadly hatred. The Church maintained only a passive position during this struggle. She honoured the supremacy as a divine ordinance, and adapted herself to the “wonderful will” of the same; but she developed her strongest power in trouble,—every fresh persecution only more clearly demonstrated her invincibility, and exactly at the time, when memorials were erected to the Emperors, “on account of the annihilation of the Christian religion,” this name began to triumph. For it was in the Diocletian Persecution, the most violent of all, that

Constantine came to the conviction, that the antient "sacra" were no longer to be rescued, and the State could only be preserved by taking refuge in the new Faith!⁽¹⁾ He therefore acknowledged the Church, characteristically enough, not from religious, but political grounds; it was the State which in Constantine surrendered itself to the Church. ✓

Now, both first entered into alliance: all fear and distrust vanished, and there was formed a bond of union so much the more intimate, as being the solemnization of the first reconciliation after a long and bloody hostility; the State now exalted the Church to dominion. For the confession of her faith must afford room for the authority of her influence in every relation of life, and in a short time, she obtained the establishment of all the privileges which were requisite for the sanctity, promotion, and strengthening of her influence in the world. She not only acquired a definite department in the government, especially in the administration of justice: she could not only, by virtue of her privilege of intercession, interfere with the efficiency of Rulers, but also by the disciplinarian guardianship of order and morals, determine legislative measures, but in every respect imbued the people and the State with Christianity. And although the State surrendered itself to the Church, the Church had no less hesitation in giving up herself to the State: she not only entrusted to it the care of her external administration, not only made use of its co-operation in matters of constitution and worship, but

(1) Constantini, oratio ad sanctorum cœtum. Eusebii Vita. 25.

called in its aid during the prevalence of doctrinal controversies, and of Heresies and Schisms, when her innermost self was in danger. For it was then, that the Emperors had to interfere, to convoke Synods, issue decrees, &c. In this, however, the interests of Church and State were gradually combined, and the Emperors soon participated in the internal concerns of the Church, and sought to make her authority subservient to their own. As time advanced, the distinction of both elements grew more indefinite: they amalgamated with each other, and out of the first immediate fusion of Church and State, such a reciprocal laxity gradually developed itself, that in spite of their supposed difference, they were absorbed in each other, and both suffered in independence and were mutually thrown into disorder: a phenomenon which strikingly presented itself in the Byzantine kingdom. For there on one side, the Church fell entirely under the power of the State: the Bishops were merely creatures of the Court, obedient to the will of the Emperors, from whom all civil and ecclesiastical legislation proceeded. But on the other side, the life of the State was consumed in the quarrels of the Church: these were the only interests which agitated it. The Emperors became theologians: the courtiers and officials dogmatized: the theatres resounded with controversies: in short, as the Church lost herself in the State, so did the State in the Church. But the unity of Church and State as it formed itself in the Roman kingdom, when the latter became Christian, was one as yet entirely "immediate," or only the first loosening of the rude discord, in which they both before stood, without the

attainment of an internal settlement. An indefinite inward combination had taken place of the outward opposition, which did not amount to a solid union. Each part had felt the want of the other; for the Church had longed for a public acknowledgment; the State for religious animation. Both had then yielded to each other, and sought to integrate themselves, and by how much the more inconsiderately this was done, by so much the less was their independence regarded: so that at length they proceeded to a system of illiberality towards each other, which as in the Byzantine kingdom, at length led to the ruin of the Roman, after its separation from the West.

It is a further historical problem to trace the progressive developement of Church and State, the carrying out of their distinct elements, the maintenance of their independence, the re-establishment of a free unity. But both must be disunited afresh, and the struggle between Church and State be renewed; only the contest was no longer as in earlier times, external, but internal, *i.e.*, the union was supposed to exist, and the grounds of it only questioned.

This second contest between Church and State developed itself in the West. Here the Church had never been so entirely subservient to the Emperors, as in the East; she had always rallied round the Bishop of Rome, as the centre of her unity in opposition to them, and by this firm conduct acquired such a power of resistance, as commanded the respect of the Emperors. And by the emigration of the people, the unity of the great kingdom which had hitherto existed was destroyed;

a plurality of kingdoms adopted its place, and being thus divided, separate Ecclesiastical foundations were established in the new countries. But this particularization tended more to the concentration of the Church, whilst she maintained a general uniformity in spite of the multiformity of states. The period of the origin of these states is therefore the time in which the power of the Romish Primacy first acquired its full practical efficiency, and with it, that armed centralization of the Church, by which she was enabled to preserve not only her unity, but her freedom, in opposition to the new masters of the West.

Her freedom ! for at first such a close relationship of unity between Church and State formed itself in the new kingdoms which arose from the ruins of the Roman Empire, that the independence of the former was in the highest degree endangered. She not only entered into the State, but increased in growth with it, became an integral member of it, and if an amalgamation of Church and State had taken place in the Roman kingdom, it now attained to a concretion, a real incorporation in the Germanic states. For since all the political relations of the Germans rested on territorial possessions, the Church by her richness in these possessions early acquired an important authority in the state. And as she was chiefly indebted to the Kings for these possessions, and relied on their protection for their preservation, they became the patrons of the churches ; and the Bishops as stewards of ecclesiastical property, stood in a corresponding relation to the kings, as the vassals and functionaries, the " people" of the same, whose

temporal possessions originated with them, and to whom they formed a kind of spiritual Nobility. Moreover, since they had the superintendence over all Education, and were distinguished by their extensive knowledge of Roman Law, they could not fail to be called into the Royal Council, and to be attracted to those assemblies in which public measures were discussed; they also filled those offices which could not be administered without acquirements in learning. In this manner they in time formed a primary and essential part of the Constitution; and the more firmly their position was established, the more weighty was their influence with the kings. These sought in them a counterpoise against the temporal peers, and in order to gain their attachment, conferred on them the highest political privileges, the so-called Regalia, and made over to them whole counties in Imperial Fee, so that subsequently, they were able to exercise sovereign sway in Germany. Thus the Church obtained an influence in public life which she never before possessed; for she not only exercised temporal authority over a great part of the country and in her own territories, and was enabled to establish there a kind of model administration, which the rest followed, but gave her concurrence in all general questions of government, even to the possession of the Throne. She maintained her seat and voice in the Imperial Diet, and besides, enjoyed all the rights which remained to her from the time of the Romans—a right of inspection over morals and discipline, a peculiar administration of justice, the guardianship of orphans, &c. But on the other hand, this worldly position

brought her into a greater dependance on the State than before; for whilst her dignitaries were persons of such importance in the State, and in whose conduct kings were deeply interested, the latter strove to ensure their devotion to their service, and for this end above all endeavoured to acquire the power of distributing Ecclesiastical honours. The Church willingly acknowledged that such important offices should not be conferred without the consent of the king, and expressly subjected the legality of Episcopal Elections to his approval,⁽¹⁾ so that he had the right of recommendation to every See which he founded. Thus the old canonical form of Election "by Clergy and people," fell into desuetude, although in theory its freedom was supposed to exist, and it was even legally restored by the kings from time to time⁽²⁾; but in practice the right of recommendation and confirmation had passed into a formal right of nomination. On the notice of the vacancy of an Episcopal See, the King expressly ordered who should fill it, and merely allowed the form of an election, or without regard to it, wrote at once to the Metropolitan to consecrate the person whom he had designated. And since this nomination was at the same time an induction into the possession and privileges of the See, it gradually assumed the character of an investiture, especially when the Bishops acquired temporal fiefs of the Empire, and although this investiture related to the property and rights, and not to the

(1) Thus the Canon, Aurelian. 549. can. 10.

(2) By Charlemagne at the Capit. Aquisgran. in 803. c. 2.

duties of the See, yet there was so little distinction between them, that the act of investiture was at the same time, a delivery of the signs of office,—of spiritual office,—the ring and the crosier; so that the power of the Church actually appeared to flow from that of the State, and the more so, as consecration followed investiture. Besides, the Bishop must take the oath of allegiance, and expressly acknowledge the King as his liege lord. The relation of allegiance implied a twofold obligation: a war and court service: so that in the former respect, in defect of personal attendance, he must furnish his supply of troops; in the latter, from time to time appear at court (in curia) in order to discharge certain obligations towards the person of his liege lord. Moreover he was amenable to the judicial court of the King, and might be punished and even deposed by him. And finally at his death, the king succeeded to the inheritance as well as the income of the See, during the vacancy, "*jus spoli et regaliæ*." All these relationships indeed applied to the temporal side of the Church, yet also had a mediate influence on the spiritual.—For the bishops not only intermeddled with worldly concerns not at all compatible with their higher vocation, but exposed themselves to all the vicissitudes of war between the crown and its vassals, and from an emulation of the nobles, were misled by a display of their warlike forces into the greatest perils, which encroached upon their ecclesiastical authority, by keeping it in the back ground, and weakened their influence and connection with the worldly powers. Since the Bishops had been attracted to the Imperial

Diets, they were accustomed to discuss there ecclesiastical concerns: consequently synods were more unfrequently held, and when they did take place, they had an entirely juridical aspect, *i. e.* the temporal peers attended, and the approbation of the King was not only required for the assembly, but also for the measures under consideration, and the conclusions received their validity from his sanction. Yet the nobles felt too little interest in spiritual affairs, to attempt to influence the decisions concerning them. Doctrine, worship, &c., were not interfered with. Their worst influence referred to the persons who had the administration of these things. For in the appointment of Church dignitaries, their attention was chiefly directed to their own political or local interests, nor did they so much regard the spiritual qualifications of the candidates, as the family, name, or party to which they belonged; and if these points came not into consideration, the decision turned upon the sum which was offered to supply the pecuniary wants of the nobleman or his adviser. The most disgraceful Simony was practised, to the increasing degradation of the Clergy, for the prelates, in order to remunerate themselves for the price of their own dignities, made the disposal of the lowest offices in the Church, a continual source of profit to themselves.

The entire secularization of the Church stood at an alarming height, and the necessity for a combination of power was the more stringent, in order to extricate herself from this disgraceful dependance on Feudal dominion. Since the time of her sinking into this state of subserviency, voices had not been wanting,

which loudly complained and zealously resisted these abuses.⁽¹⁾ But they were not listened to, because the whole system must first acquire a certain influence, before it could be felt in its crying opposition to the true notion of a Church. This period occurred in the middle of the eleventh century, when those commotions originated, which aimed at the release of the Church from her bondage, and finally led to the 'Investiture War' with which the great struggle between Church and State more especially began, and which continued during the whole of the Middle Ages. And here was demonstrated the great importance of the maxim, "that the Church did not merely exist as the individual Church of the country, but at the same time maintained position as the one, general, and central Church." For the separate national Churches were far too dependant on the lords of the soil, to be able with their own limited powers, to engage in a contest which threatened to shake the constitution of the State to its very foundations. The strength of the whole, the authority of the general Church, must support them, if they ventured to adopt such a step; and this authority was represented by the Pope. In him the highest powers of Ecclesiastical government were combined: all eyes were turned upon him, when that impulse for freedom in the Church had been awakened. The Pseudo-Isidoric Decretals had already attempted to

(1.) Gregory of Tours, (ob. 563) complains "of the weed of Simony, which increased in the Church. De SS. Patrum vita. c. 6, Hist. Franc. l. IV. c. 35, &c. Gregory the Great (ob. 604) Epp. IX. 106. XI. 58. Sqq. Also, Boniface, Charlemagne, Hincmar, &c.

exalt the power of the Pope in this interest, the interest of the freedom of the Church ; and although from Nicholas I. (858-867) the Papacy had been almost always possessed by men who were a disgrace, rather than an ornament to it, yet it suffered no violation of its dignity. The Church waited in anxiety for the time, until the Papal Throne should be mounted by a man who understood the whole strength of his position, and would give the watchword for the struggle in which all wished to engage.

A carpenter's son of Saona was this man. He was a monk of the order of Clugni, at Worms, when at the Imperial Diet there, 1048, Bruno, bishop of Toul was nominated to the Popedom by the Emperor Henry III. He had heard of the monk, and he asked him to be his companion : the monk refused, because " Bruno was preparing to take possession of the Romish Church, not in virtue of canonical appointment, but by means of worldly authority." Then Bruno stripped off all his ornaments, and in the garb of a pilgrim, wandered barefoot to Rome, in order to be lawfully elected by the clergy and people. As Leo IX. he appointed the monk his subdeacon, and at once commenced the most strict regulations for the elevation of the Church from its deep degradation. Simony and the immorality of the Clergy were the first objects of attack. The former was prohibited by a synod at Rome, 1049, under the penalty of excommunication and deposition. At first it was proposed to annul all Simoniacal ordinations : but it seemed that in that case " scarcely any Priest would remain in Orders," and they must be satisfied with

imposing an Ecclesiastical penance of forty days on those who desired to retain their office. Hereupon the Pope travelled into France and Germany, and at different Synods where he personally presided, in spite of the protestation of the Kings, he published the above resolutions: he died after the period of four years, but his successor, Victor II. followed entirely in his footsteps. Synod after Synod was held against Simony, and it was more especially Hildebrand, for thus was the Subdeacon called, who wonderfully strengthened the Papal Authority, and as Transalpine Legate was very active in promoting the Reformation of the Clergy. In the year 1056, Henry III. died, and now a new object of interest followed, namely, to make the election and position of the Pope himself independent of worldly powers: for the general bondage of the Church had extended itself even to the Popedom, which had fallen under a double influence—under the faction of the Roman Nobility, and under the Imperial power. The former was at length broken by the latter. Through the Imperial influence, Germans were elevated to the Papal chair, who being estranged from the interest of the Roman nobles, kept themselves independent of them. But the Imperial influence was now also to be set aside, and for this end, the death of Henry III. furnished a favorable opportunity. He left behind him a son under age, whose mother was appointed to the regency, and she was at first so much occupied in Germany, that she could not devote any special attention to Italian affairs. After the death of Victor II. the clergy and people elected Stephen IX., without making any application

to the Empress: but he died after a year, and during the absence of Hildebrand, the nobles at once endeavoured to appropriate the election of the Pope, by exalting for money, John, bishop of Velletri, (Benedict X.) to the throne. But this influence must be annihilated at every cost. Hildebrand rather submitted to the nomination of a new Pope by the Empress, and after the lawful election of one at the synod of Siena, (Gerhard, bishop of Florence, Nicholas II.) he triumphantly conducted him to Rome. In order for the future to secure the Papal election from every foreign influence, at a council held by Nicholas II. in Rome, 1059, it was exclusively delivered to the College of Cardinals. The right indeed of confirmation was reserved to the emperor, yet only when it was personally applied for by the Holy See. After the death of Nicholas, (1061) this new order of election withstood its first test: for in opposition to Alexander II. (a pupil from Bec already mentioned) elected by the Cardinals, the Imperial party set up Cadolaus, bishop of Parma, as anti-pope Honorius II. But through the activity of Hildebrand, and the fortunate circumstance that in 1062, the Empress mother lost the guardianship of the young Henry IV., Alexander II. was confirmed. The great reformation advanced, and when Hildebrand himself mounted the Papal throne in 1073, he carried the contest to a most decisive pitch, whilst at a Roman council, 1075, he prohibited "lay investiture," and threatened with excommunication, not only the clergy who received investiture from a temporal hand, but the princes and nobles who claimed for them-

selves this right. In the position of the empire during the middle ages, all worldly powers seemed to be there concentrated, as all spiritual authority was in the popedom, so that the attack of Gregory VII. must be principally directed against the Emperor: for a conquest over him was a victory of principle. But to force the Emperor to an acknowledgment of the prohibition, and the surrender of his right of investiture, was the main point at issue; and it is well known what gigantic efforts were required to reach this aim. Gregory himself and Henry IV. died in the struggle; the one in exile, the other under excommunication. Anti-popes and anti-kings entered the field: Italy and Germany blazed with the fiercest wars. Almost half a century passed before the settlement of the protracted struggle. By the concordat at Worms, (1122) "the Emperor gave back to God, the Apostles Peter and Paul, and the Holy Catholic Church, all investiture, with ring and crosier, and conceded that in all churches, the election and consecration should take place free, according to ecclesiastical laws, without restraint and simony: on the other hand the Pope approved that the elected should receive from the emperor through the sceptre, the regalia, and thereupon rendered to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's. Although the investiture struggle in the last instance only could be decided in Germany, yet it was fought out in all other countries, and we therefore proceed to speak of that land in which it was conducted by Anselm.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

STATE OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

In England the Church was richly endowed with territorial possessions. Ethelbert of Kent, the first Christian King, immediately after his conversion (597) removed his residence from Canterbury to Reculver, whilst he made over that City and neighbouring district to Augustine and his successors. With like liberality, he founded and provided for the Bishoprick⁽¹⁾ of Rochester, and his example was followed by the whole of the remaining princes of the Heptarcy: hence the Bishops became possessed of extensive Manorial rights, and most of the estates of the Church enjoyed their own courts of justice, and other important privileges.⁽²⁾

(1) Bede. I. 26.33 II. 3. &c.

(2) *Ecclesia fruatur immunitate et tributis.* See Can. I. of the Council of Berkhamstead. Wilkins. Concil. In. Brit. I. p. 60.

Already in the Laws of Ethelbert (568-616) and of Lothair of Kent (673-685) the Bishops appear to be of equal rank with the Ealdormen (subsequently Earls, Counts,) and the Archbishops with the Athelings, (Princes), as next to the King.⁽¹⁾ We find them at the Wittenagemot, or the national council for the enactment of laws, and consultation on public affairs, and the Bishops' right of voting in the Upper House, rests on the right of their forefathers in the Wittenagemot. But on the other hand, it was this great power of the Church which induced the Kings to endeavour to make them in a certain degree their dependents; and they were successful as far as related to the persons who enjoyed Ecclesiastical dignities. For since the greater part of the territorial possessions of the Church had sprung from Royal bounty, the Bishops considered themselves under corresponding obligations with the Ealdormen, and other servicemen, who held their possessions in fee. In consequence of this relationship, the kings wished to designate them their spiritual as well as worldly thanes, and rested not until this was actually accomplished. At the beginning, the Bishops were generally nominated at national synods, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury,⁽²⁾ and the council of Bapchild, 692, expressly declares, "it appertaineth to the King to appoint Ealdormen, Sheriffs, and other worldly authorities: on the other hand, it is the affair of the Archbishops to rule the Church of God, and to guide

(1.) Legg. Ethelberti, art. 74. Lotharii. art. 1.

(2.) Bede iii., 29,—iv., 18—v., 8, &c.

and watch over the appointment to spiritual ⁽¹⁾ offices." But the kings with their nobles were always present at these national synods, and their wishes not unfrequently gave the decision. In every case they had to confirm the person elected before he could enter on his office. And the more the bishops in consequence of their property and rights which officially devolved to them, were regarded as thanes of the king, so much the more this confirmation changed itself into an investiture; on the death of a bishop or abbot, the ring and crosier were delivered to the king by a deputation of the clergy, and he handed them over to whomsoever they designated as the man of their choice; who at the same time received a writing, by which all the servants of the king were summoned to aid him in taking possession of the property of the see. But the kings were not long satisfied with the mere investiture of the elected, they endeavoured also to influence the election itself, which at first took place in the form of a recommendation to the electing clergy, but soon became a formal nomination (*designatio*) and indeed "in aulâ," so that all choice on the part of the clergy disappeared, and their highest office was to approve of the candidate of the king. In later times this choice generally fell on one of the royal chaplains, and the English court might be called "the seminary of the future bishops of the land." On their investiture they now had to perform homage (*hyld-ath*) and "love every thing which he loved, to avoid every thing which he avoided, according to the right of God and the laws

(1.) Wilkins, p. 57.

of the world, and never by will or power, word or work, do any thing to his injury." This indeed more immediately referred to their political relation, and the way in which they performed their feudal service, furnished troops, &c. &c.: yet even in ecclesiastical matters they were so far to acknowledge the authority of the King, that they could come to no conclusion, without his approval, in anything which should be legally binding, at least on the Laity.

The Church of England had fallen into a corresponding relation to the state with the churches on the Continent; and this dependancy was much increased during the reign of William the Conqueror. It is true indeed, that he at first allowed the Anglo-Saxon clergy to retain their preferments, but it was evident that they could feel no sympathy with the oppressor of their countrymen: therefore William early began to look out for Normans to occupy their places.

After he had in some degree established himself in England, he caused three Legates to be sent to him from Rome, and in 1070, a council was held at Winchester, at which Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury was deposed, partly on account of his oppression of Robert,⁽¹⁾ and his connexion with the schismatical Pope, Benedict X., partly because in violation of the laws of the Church, he had been invested with a second Bishoprick (Winchester) besides his Archbishoprick. In his stead Lanfranc was appointed to the See of

(1) Archbishop of C. a Norman. "Stigand, in 1052, thrust himself into his roome, not expecting either his death, deprivation, or other avoidance."—*Godwin. Eng. Bishops*, p. 70.

Canterbury, and Walchelin a royal chaplain was nominated bishop of Winchester. At the same time Ægilmar, the brother of Stigand, lost the bishoprick of East Anglia, and was succeeded by Herfast, a second Royal Chaplain. The Archbishoprick of York was already vacant by death (1069.) It was filled by a Norman, Thomas, Canon of Evreux, and in like manner William seized every opportunity of appointing Normans to the government of the Church and Monasteries, so that in a short time Wulfstan of Worcester was the "only one remaining of the old Fathers of the Anglo Saxons." All these nominations proceeded immediately from the king, in which he rather followed "the consent of his barons, than that of the clergy," and so zealously insisted on his right of investiture, that when Lanfranc once asked him for the appointment to an Abbey which for ages had belonged to the See of Canterbury, he replied, that "he would not suffer a single crosier in England to be out of his hands." He abstained indeed from enriching his treasury on the appointment of bishops (although he not unfrequently sold Abbeys) so that only a single case of simony occurred^(1.): but according to Eadmer^(2.) he only chose for prelates "people in whom it would have been accounted dishonorable not to have been subservient to the king's will in every respect, and every one knew under what circumstances, and for what purpose they were appointed." For "all

(1.) In 1067, a certain Remigius received the bishoprick of Dorchester as he had agreed for the first vacant see, at the price of a ship with 20 men, in the expedition against England.

(2.) Hist. Nov. i. p. 43.

things divine and human must be directed according to his will;" even the Primate of his kingdom at the assembly of a general council could adopt no measure without his approval and previous consultation. And in like manner, no bishop dared to summon before him any of his barons or thanes, although guilty of the most open incest or adultery, without his permission; or to pass sentence of excommunication or impose any other ecclesiastical penalty. Yet under William I. things always went on tolerably well, for the king had the highest opinion of Lanfranc, who made use of his interest as far as he could for the good of the Church, although we frequently hear him bitterly complaining how little he was able to effect.⁽¹⁾ But the oppression became intolerable under William Rufus, 1087. He was the second son of the Conqueror, and at first, Lanfranc had some scruples to anoint him: but at length he complied with the wish of the dying father, when the Prince promised to exercise righteousness, honesty, and mercy; to protect the peace, the freedom, and the security of the Church against every one, and be willing in all things to follow the counsel of Lanfranc." But he was scarcely in possession of the throne when he acted expressly the reverse, and when Lanfranc reminded him of his promise, he indignantly exclaimed, "who can perform all that he promises?": yet he in some degree restrained himself during the lifetime of Lanfranc;⁽²⁾ for the latter stood in such general

(1.) See his letter to Anselm. An. Ep. i. 22.

(2.) Ad nutum illius (Lanfranci) totius regni spectabat intuitus. Hist. Nov. 47.

estimation, that he did not dare openly to quarrel with him. But no sooner were the eyes of Lanfranc closed, (24th. May, 1089) than he gave the most reckless indulgence to his passions. The wildest dissipation pervaded the court, and required pecuniary means which the ordinary income could not furnish: to procure these, every thing was permitted to those in authority: "the offender could release his neck from the halter, if he could suggest a source of wealth to the Fiscus." The people, and the clergy especially, must contribute. The former were overburdened with taxes, the latter, systematically plundered. Immediately on Lanfranc's death, the King determined not to appoint a successor to the See of Canterbury, in order to enjoy its great revenues. He ordered an inventory to be made of the goods and property of the Archbishoprick, set apart for the monks as much as was necessary for the Cathedral service, bestowed a part in fee on his favorites, and attached all the remainder to his own domains. The separate estates were let again to yearly tenants, in order to exact from them the greatest possible rent. The highest bidder, even if he shamefully exhausted the estate, was preferred. For the King was not ashamed to annul an agreement already made, if a higher rent was offered. But at no time did he spare the monks: fresh sums were continually extorted from them, and their subsistence gradually diminished. It needs hardly be mentioned that he sold parishes for enormous sums. He was accustomed to say, "The bread of Christ is fat bread, and the crown had lost its revenues in the Church; why should it not endeavour

to recover them?" That under these circumstances, no prelate dared to raise his voice for the Church, that no discipline prevailed, and that spiritual government was continually relaxed, must be self evident.

Moreover, the English Church threatened to throw off all connection with the rest of Christendom. Even under William I. the relationship to Rome was continually growing colder, in proportion to the strength of the dominion of the Conqueror over England. The Papal authority had only been to him a means to this end: as soon as he felt himself sufficiently secure, all marks of respect for Rome ceased. For he must otherwise have been afraid that his efforts to reduce the new clergy of his kingdom to strict dependance, would have been restrained and crippled, since his conduct to the Anglo-Saxon clergy, had by no means been approved. Gregory VII. did not omit, when in 1079 he sent a Legate to William, on account of a disputed Episcopal election in Bretagne which belonged to Normandy, to commission him to make the attempt, if not to attach the King more closely to Rome, yet if possible to obtain the promise, upon oath, of his fidelity towards the Holy See. At the same time, he was to urge the restoration of the yearly contribution, which the Anglo-Saxon kings had established, for the maintenance of an Hospitium for English pilgrims in Rome, the payment of the so-called Peter's Pence. We still possess a letter, addressed by William to the Pope on this occasion, it is as follows, "one thing I have granted, the other not. The oath of Fidelity I have not acceded to, nor will, because I promised nothing of the kind nor do I find

that my predecessors did. With regard to the money, it may have been somewhat negligently collected during my three years' residence in France: you shall receive that which is already collected by your own Legate and the remainder on some favorable opportunity by the Legates of Lanfranc our faithful Archbishop." Gregory was naturally not a little surprised at this. "I set no value upon money without honor." Thus he writes to his Legate, Sept. 23rd, 1079. "And oh! that this was the only point on which the Papal throne had to complain: but that which no king ever yet assumed, this man ventures, without shame, to prevent his Archbishops and Bishops from coming to our holy seat." This latter complaint refers to an epistle which Gregory had transmitted by his Legate, to Lanfranc, in which, after reproaching him for his weakness towards the King, he summoned him to Rome. Lanfranc replied, although with the most submissive expressions, that he could not come, and referred him to the letter of the King. Gregory plainly perceived that violence would not succeed here. He therefore endeavoured to retrace his false step, by addressing (24th April, 1080) a fatherly epistle to the King, in which he reminded him of the important service which had been rendered him, towards the attainment of the royal throne, in the time of Alexander II., and on this, founded his exhortation, that he would support him (the Pope) in his present severe contest, and not desert him, but continue in the bond of true obedience to the universal mother Church. All this made no impression on William, who persevered in his coldness and indifference towards the Papal throne.

For as Eadmer says, "William could not at all endure, that any one should acknowledge a Pope in his kingdom, for whom he had not declared himself, or receive letters which he had not inspected. Still less would he concede, that any one should journey to Rome, without his permission." Consequently from this time, all communication between England and Rome ceased, and the Kings were enabled to insult and domineer over the Church, without restraint. We have already seen in what way this was carried on by William Rufus, after the death of Lanfranc, its last support. He declared it to be a peculiar privilege of the kings of England to acknowledge or reject a Pope at their pleasure. It may be easily supposed that he willingly acknowledged none: for the headless condition of the Church, allowed him the unlimited indulgence of plunder. But it is also evident, that the restoration of the Papal authority must first take place, before effectual aid could be procured for the Church. And from hence it is plain, why Anselm on his elevation to the Primacy of the Church of England, before all things, sought to realize the acknowledgment of Urban II., because he would thus obtain the necessary protection, in order to commence the actual struggle for the freedom of the Church.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

ANSELM AS ARCHBISHOP.

The oppression of the King on the Churches and Monasteries in England, continued for four years : then that crisis took place, which laid the foundation for the commencement of a better order of things. In the year 1092, Hugo, Earl of Chester, resolved to restore a monastery in that city, which King Edgar had formerly built in honor of St. Werburge, but in course of time had fallen into ruin, and been seized by the secular clergy : he therefore wrote to Anselm, to send him some monks, and invited him to accompany them. It had already been whispered abroad, that Anselm had only to appear in England, in order to succeed to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury ; and in fact, Hugo as well as other nobles who deeply felt the necessities of the Church, had long fixed their attention on Anselm. By his frequent visits to England, he had gained uni-

versal respect and love; the monastery of Bec was regarded as the head and pattern for all others: from it Lanfranc had been promoted; from it, a number of Abbots and Bishops, Priests and Monks had gone out, who every where awakened a new life, and spread abroad the fame of their instructor. An involuntary wish was generally expressed that Anselm should be Archbishop. But even on this account he rejected every invitation; for he feared lest he should be accused of ambitious aims, if he visited England under these circumstances; and however exempt he might be from such, he yet also was desirous of avoiding evil appearances. In the mean time the Earl became dangerously ill, and sent a second time to Anselm, with the earnest entreaties, at least now to come and give him spiritual comfort, whilst he also assured him that there was no foundation for that report. But he still declined the compliance with his request. Then the Earl sent to him the third time with a message to this effect, that he would ever have to repent of it, if he still neglected to come to him. Anselm was in the greatest embarrassment: but at length he acknowledged, that it would be a sin for him merely from fear of a groundless suspicion, to refuse to perform an office of love to an old ⁽¹⁾ friend, which he must necessarily do to an enemy, according to the prescript of the Gospel. Yet his regard for the monastery determined his decision. There was an urgent necessity for arranging some of its affairs which

(1.) Before the Conquest, the Earl had been "Lord of Avranches," where Anselm had resided for some time, and the "*antiqua familiaritas*" here alluded to, might then have been formed.

required his personal presence in England, and as at this exact time he had been sent for by Iva, the Countess of Boulogne, from whence he might pass over to England in a few hours, the monks in Bec insisted upon it as a duty, that he should not return, before he had completely settled their business. He then resolved to disregard every other motive, and conscientiously entrust himself to God for his protection against every evil report. He landed at Dover, on 7th September, 1092, and proceeded to Canterbury. Early on the following morning, he continued his journey, and went immediately to the court of the King. He was not only most honorably received by the nobles, but William also himself sprang from his seat, met him at the door, embraced him, and conducted him to an appropriate place at his right hand. After the first greetings were over, Anselm requested them to leave him alone with the King. Instead of the affairs of his Monastery, as William expected, Anselm at once began to address him on the condition of the English Church, and openly represented to the King the injustice of his conduct. After he had thus relieved his mind, he hastened to the Earl of Chester. To his great joy, he found him recovered from his illness : and spent the following winter in England, partly in establishing the new Monastery, partly in settling the business, which had been entrusted to him by the brothers in Bec.

In February, 1093, he wished to return to Bec : but, as had been generally supposed, he was not allowed to leave England. At the court day at Christmas, 1092, the most respectable amongst the nobles, brought into

conversation, the desolate condition of the See of Canterbury, and when they had little hope of softening the King by their words, they resolved to address themselves to the head of the Church. They united in a petition to the King (which Eadmer says, "Posterity will hardly believe") that they might at least be permitted to call upon God for the restoration of the Archbishoprick. He must first give his sanction, that in all the churches, prayers should be offered up for this end. This request had in fact embarrassed the King, yet he at length acceded to it, for he thought that he was not yet able to indulge his own wishes in every respect.* Hereupon Anselm was requested to draw up a common form of prayer, and although he at first declined, because an Abbot ought not to interfere with the duties of a Bishop, yet he allowed himself to be prevailed on, out of regard for the welfare of the Church. On the new year, 1093, public prayers were offered in all the Churches, for the restoration of the Archiepiscopal See. Shortly after, in a confidential intercourse, one of the nobles ventured to mention the name of Anselm to the King. "There is no more pious man than the Abbot of Bec. In truth he lives only for God: his desires rest on nothing else." "Indeed," the King tauntingly replied, "not even on the Archbishoprick of Canterbury?" "On that, least of all," was the answer. "Oho!" says the King, "he would clap both his hands, if I were to hold out to him the least prospect of it. But by the holy countenance of Lucca,⁽¹⁾ neither

(1.) The *S. vultus de Lucca*, was a celebrated crucifix, in the Cathedral of that town, of which numerous copies existed, especially in France. See Du Cange, and Chatelain's *Martyrol*. 13. Jan. p. 204.

he nor any other shall have it: before-hand I am Archbishop." Shortly after this interview, the King was attacked with a severe indisposition, which increased from day to day, and at length was so violent, that fears began to be entertained for his life. Barons and prelates assembled together, to receive his last commands. They exhorted him to think of the salvation of his soul, to open the prisons, to proclaim a remission of debts, to restore liberty to the Churches, and above all things, not to suffer the mother Church of the kingdom to remain longer desolate. Anselm, by chance was in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, where this occurrence took place. He was at once sent for, and requested to administer consolation to the King, in his last moments. The first thing, he declared, must be a sincere confession, and the King must acknowledge his sins, and promise reformation. If there was yet time, he might then do what his nobles had advised him. In the agony of death, the King consented to all. He confessed to Anselm, and called the Bishops present as witnesses, that he at the same time vowed in future to exercise righteousness and mercy. On the high altar at Gloucester, they must lay these vows, in his stead: and an edict furnished with the King's seal, was thereupon published, which ordered the liberation of all prisoners, released debtors from outstanding sums, and offered pardon to all offences against his person. Good, holy laws, as in the times of King Edward, were to be re-established, justice impartially administered, and every violation of it, strictly punished. The people received with joy this Royal declaration, and flocked to the Churches, in order to

thank God, and pray for the King's recovery. The nobles now more urgently renewed their request for the nomination of an Archbishop of Canterbury. The King was ready to comply, and under the most excited expectation of those around him, none of whom ventured to recommend any one, nominated the Abbot Anselm, as the most worthy to fill that honorable station. An universal cry of exultation followed, whilst Anselm turned pale, and when the Bishops wished to introduce him to the King, in order to receive the crosier from his hand, he offered the most violent resistance. The astonished Bishops took him aside, and with the most urgent entreaties, besought him to take charge of the oppressed Church. "Reflect" he replied, "on my sixty years, and the ill will which the monastic life has caused me, from my inexperience in worldly concerns. How should I be able to rule the Church of a whole country, who am scarcely able to guide myself?" And when they now all promised to support him with a helping hand, and to relieve him from everything which might be burdensome to him, if he would only undertake their spiritual guidance, he reminded them, that he had an Archbishop over him, to whom he was bound in obedience,—that he had another country and Prince, and above all, that he belonged to his Monastery from which he ought not so inconsiderately to withdraw himself. They replied, that all these motives must be laid aside; at present, he must only obey the call of the Church of England: and upon this they dragged him by force before the bed of the King. He here renewed his remonstrances; but with tears in his eyes, the King

conjured him to take compassion on him : for if the Archbishoprick was not immediately filled, he felt convinced that he must die. Then all cried out, "Thou wilt not put the King's life in jeopardy?—Considerest thou not how important it is, that a man such as thou, shouldest be now at the head of the Church : and wilt thou take upon thyself all that will come upon the Church of England by thy refusal?" In his distress, Anselm turned himself to the two Monks who accompanied him, Baldwin of Tournay, and Eustachius, "You help me," he sighed ; but Baldwin answered "If it be the will of God that thou shouldest be Archbishop, who are we that we should strive against God?" At length the King commanded all present to cast themselves down before Anselm, and entreat him to spare him. They then became impatient—"The crosier here," they cried out, seized Anselm by both arms, and dragged and thrust him to the bed of the King, from which the latter already stretched forth the crosier. It was of no avail that Anselm stuck his hands into his bosom. They snatched them out, and held fast the left hand that it might not assist the right ; still convulsively he the more firmly closed his right hand. In spite of all their exertions, the Bishops were unable to force the hand open ; only for a moment the forefinger gave way. They at once seized the opportunity to press the crosier between the finger and the thumb, and then clasped it and the fist in their hands, so that he could not let the former fall.⁽¹⁾ Scarcely was

(1) This scene is circumstantially related by Eadmer. H. N., I. p. 36. Tandem indice levato, sed protinus ab eo inflexo, clausæ manui ejus baculus

this effected, when the shout resounded, "Long life to our new Archbishop." The Clergy exultingly poured forth the "Te Deum." The Bishops raised Anselm in their arms, and carried him into the nearest Church, in order to thank God for the accomplished election, although Anselm continually exclaimed, "It is worth nothing, what you are doing, it is worth nothing⁽¹⁾!" The divine Service was scarcely over, when he immediately returned to the King, in order to protest against the election, and when the Bishops and the assembled Nobles accompanied him to his house, he once more explained to them the reasons for his refusal. "Consider," says he, "what you are undertaking! If the field of the Church of England is to be cultivated, two of the strongest oxen must draw the plough—the King and the Archbishop—the former by his worldly authority and rule, the latter by spiritual instruction and guidance. The one (Lanfranc) you have lost; the other in the full wildness of youth is still yoked to the plough, and with this are you willing to harness together, an old, weak sheep? Take heed! lest the wildness of the ox drag

appositus est, et Episcoporum manibus cum eadem manu compressus atque retentus.

Osbern in the *Epistles of Anselm* thus writes. Ep. II. Lib. iii. Quid inquam aut ad effectum dulcius aut ad innocentiam præstantius, quam te ante lectum ægrostantis violenter pertractum, dextram aliorum dextris impudenter de sinu extractam; virgam cæteris digitulis pollicis atque indicis crudeliter impactam, post hæc toto corpore e terra te elevatum Episcopalis brachiis ad Ecclesiam deportatum, ibique adhuc te reclamante et importunis minis obistente "Te Deum laudamus" esse cantatum.

(1) He writes to the Brothers at Bec,—ita ut dubium videri possit, utrum sanum insani, an insanum traherent sani. Ep. III. 1.

not the sheep through hedges of thorns and brambles ; it will lose its milk, its wool. The lambs which it should nourish with the word of God, will perish, and the ox will not rest, even until he hath hanged or butchered the sheep." Anselm was so exhausted with all these proceedings, that when at mid-day some friends from the neighbourhood visited him, to whom the tidings had arrived, they found him lying in a fainting fit, and were obliged to sprinkle him with water to restore him to himself.

On the first Sunday in Lent, March 26th, 1093, this remarkable election took place. Moreover, the King ordered that Anselm should be instituted into all the property and privileges, enjoyed by Lanfranc: he also granted, that the city of Canterbury, and the Abbey of St. Albans, in Hertfordshire, which Lanfranc had only held in fee, should be an Allodium to the Cathedral. Whilst Anselm made a journey through the province of the Archbishoprick, to be more accurately acquainted with it, in which, besides Baldwin, his beloved Gondulf accompanied him, who was commissioned to provide for his maintenance,—the King wrote to the Duke of Normandy, to the Archbishop of Rouen, and to the Monks at Bec, to give their consent to the intended translation of Anselm. Anselm also wrote to the Archbishop and the monks. The latter epistle, which Baldwin carried over, has yet remained to us.⁽¹⁾ It is an affecting testimony of the struggles which it cost him, before he could resolve upon undertaking this

(1.) Ep. III. 1.

responsible office. But since the will of God had been so openly expressed, he could offer no further opposition; he must therefore entreat the brothers, the sooner the better, to release him from his present duties, whilst by longer delay, he only feared an increase of responsibility. Gondulf also, in a letter, represented to the brothers,⁽¹⁾ that the state of things in England required their earliest decision. The Duke and the Archbishop also, hastened to declare their approbation: the Archbishop at the same time, commanded Anselm, in the name of God, to undertake the office.⁽²⁾ There was more difficulty with the brothers at Bec. It is true indeed, they stated by an Ambassador from their own body, named Teso, who accompanied Baldwin back to England, that they did not wish to bind Anselm. But yet it required a second letter⁽³⁾ from Anselm, before they communicated their written approbation; and in the document containing this, which the younger Lanfranc⁽⁴⁾ brought over, it is plain there was a considerable minority⁽⁵⁾ in the general chapter against it. Anselm now in a lengthened epistle solemnly took leave of them. He testified to them how difficult it had been for him to tear himself from his cloister. It was true indeed, some might not be wanting, who would accuse him of

(1.) Ep. III. 3.

(2.) Eadmer. H. N. I. p. 36.

(3.) Ep. III. 4.

(4.) Ep. III. 6.

(5) The first tidings caused great consternation at Bec. tanta tribulatio inde orta est inter eos, quantam nullus in Cœnobio Becci antea viderat. See the Vita Gulielmi (tertii Abbatis Beccensis) Lanfranci Opp. p. 42.—Tandem—Beccenses advertentes se in vanum laborare, multi concesserunt, quod prius affirmabant se nunquam concessuros.

ambition:⁽¹⁾ but he would appeal to his thirty-three years residence at Bec, against all fear of such a charge from them. The Lord was his witness, that if it had been consistent with the obedience which he owed to God, and his love to the Church, he had rather remain in a subordinate station, than be the ruler of others. No one would accuse him of a breach of faith towards his cloister, since he had left it only for the sake of God, and with the consent of the Brothers. He concludes with these words, "May he, who hath redeemed you, Jesus Christ himself, be your Abbot, your defence and protection; may he guide you through this life into his heavenly kingdom; there may he once more permit us to meet and rejoice together in him, who is God, highly to be praised for ever. Amen." Yet Anselm continued in the most intimate communication with his monastery. He recommended to the Brothers as his successor, the Prior of Poissy, William, and exhorted Balderich, Prior of Bec, to be content with this appointment, and not to stand in his way: he recommended the former to Duke Robert and the Archbishop William, and exerted every effort to fill up the vacancy as soon as possible, which had been caused by his departure. Hereupon he wrote a congratulatory letter to the Abbot as well as to the Monks; reminded them of their reciprocal duties, and assured them of his unceasing interest in their welfare. This attachment to his monastery lasted during the whole of his ⁽²⁾ life. A number of letters prove the interest which he felt in

(1.) Ep. III. 7.

(2.) Ep. III, 16-17.

its most inconsiderable concerns, how he continued to watch over the discipline, the outward welfare, and legal privileges of the Monastery, and made use of every opportunity to testify his love to the Brothers.⁽¹⁾ He retained the same faithful attachment, the same partiality to the remainder of his friends in Normandy and the neighbouring countries. He still continued their adviser, their supporter, their spiritual comforter, their advocate, their companion in sorrow and joy.

This connection of love was, indeed, necessary, for within a few months after his nomination to the Archbishoprick, we behold him requiring the support and prayers of his friends at Bec.⁽²⁾ The King had no sooner recovered his health, than he fell back into his former mode of conduct. The edict of grace which he had published at Gloucester was not only not executed, but formally withdrawn. The released captives must again wander to their prisons, the remitted debts were exacted with renewed rigor, the suits which had been dropt were resumed, and entrusted to persons who only made use of them for extortion. A state of things took place, compared with which, the former sufferings appeared so inconsiderable, that men wished for the days previous to the King's illness. And when the Bishop Gondulf made a representation of these things to the King, he replied with anger "truly the Lord God hath not deserved this of me, that I should requite him with good, for the evil which he hath inflicted on me." Even the actual establishment of

(1.) Ep. III, 25-26-39, &c.

(2.) Ep. III, 15.

Anselm in his office seemed more doubtful than ever.—For in the summer of 1093, as William Rufus returned from an interview with Count Robert of Flanders, at Dover, through Rochester, where Anselm then resided, the latter expressly declared that he would only accept the Archbishoprick under three conditions—first, the King must restore to the Church all the estates which she had possessed under Lanfranc; and concerning those which she had previously possessed, and now no longer retained, cause a sufficient investigation to be made:—secondly, he said, I must require that in all things relating to Religion, you confide in my counsel, and as I acknowledge you as my earthly lord and protector, so you regard me as your spiritual father and soul-director. And finally, I must declare that I can only receive Urban II. as Pope, whom you have not yet acknowledged. Hereupon the King called unto him ⁽¹⁾ William, Bishop of Durham, and Robert⁽²⁾ Count of Meulant: Anselm must once more lay down these points before them, and received the following result of the Cabinet (per Consilium). The estates acknowledged to belong to the Church, under Lanfranc, the King is willing to

(1.) William, as friend of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the brother of the Conqueror, obtained the Bishoprick of Durham; "a man who attained his ecclesiastical dignity, not for his spiritual endowments, but like the other Norman ecclesiastics, on account of his abilities as a courtier, man of business, and warrior." He conspired with Bishop Odo for the sake of establishing Robert on the English throne, and must leave England. He was restored to his see after the peace of Caen, 1091. He was consequently a firm adherent of the King's.

(2.) A firm supporter of the Crown in the contest with the Church. John of Salisbury reports a saying of his, "That the true majesty is only of God, and the crimen læsæ majestatis was therefore so called, because the King was the image of God upon earth." See Mabillon Ann., vol. V., p. 329.

restore; with regard to the other points, he cannot at present bind himself to any specific promise, yet he will soon adopt a resolution on these and other matters. Nevertheless the King endeavoured still to encroach upon the Church; for when shortly after the expected letters arrived from Normandy, and he summoned Anselm to enter upon his Archbishoprick, he importuned him to leave those estates which he (the King) had, since Lanfranc's death, let out to his own people, as an hereditary fief, whilst he sneeringly remarked, that "the See was much too large for a man like him, who had hitherto been only occupied in devotional exercises." To this Anselm most positively refused his assent, and imagined that he might even yet escape from the offered appointment. But the accusations regarding the oppression of the Church had reached such a pitch, that the King could no longer hesitate. He convoked an assembly of the Nobles at Winchester, caused Anselm to come there, made every possible good promise, and thus prevailed on him to accept the Archbishoprick. Anselm was now solemnly conducted into the assembly, and in the customary manner elevated to be a feodary of the King, and authorized to take possession of the whole See as it existed in the time of Lanfranc.⁽¹⁾ On the 25th September, 1093, he made his entry into Canterbury, and was enthroned amidst the unbounded acclamations of the Clergy, the Monks, and the assembled people. But on the same day came also

(1.) See *Charta Regis qua AEpiscopatus Cant. Anselmo conceditur* in Rymer. *Fœdera*. v. I., P. 1., p. 5.

Ranulf Flambard,⁽¹⁾ the Justiciarius of the King, and scrupled not to disturb the general joy, by at once summoning the Archbishop before his Court, and commencing a legal process against the Church of Canterbury; and it caused still greater displeasure, "because the subject in dispute did not appertain to the King's court of justice." It was probably an execution process against some one connected with the Church; for Eadmer says, "that these were conducted with the greatest severity." Anselm could make no resistance, but must only prepare himself for still greater oppressions, "well knowing that troubles await those who are determined to live in Christ."

The consecration of the new Archbishop was yet wanting. On the second Sunday in Advent, 1093, this event took place. All the Bishops of England appeared in person, except Wulfstan, of Worcester, and Osbern, of Exeter, who were prevented from illness, and forwarded their written approbation. But here also a disagreeable occurrence happened; for as Walchelin, Bishop of Winchester (at the request of Maurice, Bishop of London, whose office it actually was) before the

(1.) He was the son of a priest, Turstin of Bayeux, and was surnamed "flambard" or "passe flambard," on account of his ability in discovering hidden treasures, according to William of Malmesbury. According to Anselm, "propter crudelitatem similem flammæ comburenti." Under William the Conqueror he had been made Royal Chaplain, and continued so under his successor, until his appointment to the see of Durham in 1099. He also served the King as "summus regiarum opum procurator et Justiciarius." Ord. vit. viii. p. 678, and was his "Exactor crudelissimus et consiliarius præcipuus." Will. Malm. de gg., Pont. ii. p. 278. his chief instrument in enriching the Royal Treasury with the possessions of the Church. He is called by Anselm "non solum publicanus, sed etiam publicanorum princeps infamissimus."

examination of the person to be consecrated, according to Ecclesiastical custom, read the act of Election, Thomas, Archbishop of York, made an objection to the first line, whilst it ran thus, "Ye know, my brothers and fellow bishops, how long the Church of Dorobernium (the old Roman name for Canterbury) the Metropolitan Church of all Britain hath remained desolate." "How," exclaimed Thomas, "the Metropolitan Church of all Britain? Then the Church of York can be no Metropolitan Church. It must be called 'the Primacy' of the Kingdom." In consequence of this remonstrance, the sentence was altered, and Anselm was consecrated as "the Primate of all Britain." It was an antient custom that, at the consecration, an opened Testament was placed upon the head of the person consecrated.⁽¹⁾ When after the ceremony, it was examined at what passage it had been opened, the following text was found at the top of the page, "And sent his servant at Supper-time to say to them that were bidden, come; for all things are now ready. And they all with one consent began to make excuse," Luke xiv. 17. An allusion to the opposition which he was about to experience.

(1.) See Bingham, C. II., c. XI., 8. Lingard. *Antiq. of A. S. Church*. II., 26.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

ANSELM'S QUARREL WITH THE KING.⁽¹⁾

Eight days after his consecration, Anselm attended at the court day, which was usually held at Christmas. He experienced the most friendly reception from the King and the nobles, and the three first days of the festival passed joyfully. But on the fourth day, a topic came under discussion, which affected the King on his most susceptible side. On the death of a feodary, his successor must purchase the new enfeoffment from the King, by what is termed a herriot.⁽²⁾ Even Abbots and

(1) Eadmer. Hist. Nov. I. p. 52.—II. p. 65.

(2) The name (herevaed, heregeata, subsequently heriot, heretochium) originated in the King receiving back the armour (das heeregewand) after the death of a Thane, which he had conferred on him. The successor had to pay an equivalent for it. In France and Normandy, this was called relief, (relevium, relevamen.)

Bishops in earlier times had complied with this custom. Under Edgar, 959-975, it was most strictly prohibited as simony; but a voluntary present, had from thence become customary, which the newly elected prelate made to the King, and this was the more expected from Anselm, because William was at that time preparing for a fresh war against his brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, and as usual, found himself embarrassed for money.⁽¹⁾ Anselm was quite ready to contribute, especially when his friends represented, that it would induce the King to act more liberally towards the Church. He offered a donation of 500 pounds silver. At first William was satisfied with it. Yet, some ill disposed persons, whispered to him, that the sum was much too small, that the prelate ought to offer him double the amount; he should therefore return the money: which was accordingly done. But they deceived themselves. Anselm asked the King whether he really despised his present, and when the King answered in the affirmative, he requested him to consider, whether it was not more honorable, and even more advantageous to him, to receive that which was voluntarily offered, (since this would certainly not be the last) than by violent extortion to treat the first Bishop of the kingdom as an ordinary servant. For under a worthy relationship, he and all his, belonged to the King; under an insulting one,

(1) Eadmer in his life of Anselm. II. 22. expressly says, "the King expected it from Anselm, *pro agendis munificentiae suae gratiis, i.e.* as a thank offering for his liberality in appointing him to the Archbishoprick. See Ep. III. 24. where Anselm rejoices at the King's refusal: *ne, si accepisset, vertetur mihi in gravamen et suspicionem nefandae emptionis.*"

neither one nor the other. ⁽¹⁾The King wrathfully replied, that "Anselm might keep his money: he could live on his own means." Anselm mournfully acknowledged the truth of the text, "No man can serve two masters." Yet he consoled himself with the thought, that at least it could not be said that he had bought his Archbishoprick. He afterwards caused the sum to be offered privately to the King, and when it was again refused, he gave it to the poor, "*pro redemptione animæ Regis.*"

In February, 1094, the King had made his preparations for war, and wished to pass over into Normandy from Hastings. All his nobles were to assemble there, and the Bishops were to accompany them, in order to give him their blessing and support. Unfavorable winds detained the expedition for a month. During this time, Anselm consecrated in the Castle Chapel, at Hastings, a Chaplain of the King's, Robert Bloet, to the See of Lincoln. Offence was taken with Anselm, because he here first required the canonical oath of submission, *i. e.* the acknowledgment of the Primacy of the Church of Canterbury, and complaints were made of him to the King. But William thought him right, in maintaining the dignity of his Church, and Robert must take the oath. Perhaps Anselm was here encouraged to venture a step further. He requested an audience of the King, and on his admission, made the following

(1.) Holinshed Chron. ii. 24., with which words the King was in marvellous choler, and therewith said in anger "Well get thee home, take that which is thine to thyself, that which I have of mine own, I trust will suffice me."

request. "Sire, if you wish for a prosperous issue in your expedition, above all things, begin with directing your attention and protection to the depressed state of religion." What protection?" the King replied. "Permit the meeting of a Synod: for no council has been held since the commencement of your reign, and now several years have elapsed, and yet it is only the assembled Bishops, from whom a thorough reform of the whole discipline can originate, which can check the encroachments of moral corruption." "That I shall do when I please," answered William, "we will talk about it another time. But tell me" he continued jeeringly, "on what subjects you would treat at your council?" "Above all things, the severest measures should be adopted, against incestuous marriages, and other corruptions of morals, which have spread through this kingdom." "And in what respect are you concerned?" William further asked. He answered, "I am not acting on my own account, but for the honor of God, and yours." The King interposed, "It is well, we will not speak further on the subject." Anselm was silent, but after a while, he renewed the conversation. "Yet I would remind you of one thing. Many Abbeys in the land are destitute of Shepherds. Therefore the Monks are undisciplined, lead dissipated lives, and exercise no repentance. Will you not take notice of these things?" "How," exclaimed the King, "are not then the Abbeys mine? you do what you will with your own property, should I not do the same with mine?" Anselm replied, "In every respect you are the Lord of the Cloisters. But they do not the less belong to God,

and they should form servants of God, not furnish men and money for the service of war. You have a sufficiency of other property, leave to the Church her own." "Know," said the King, "that this language is highly displeasing to me. Your predecessor did not attempt to make use of such before my father, I will do nothing for you." Anselm perceived that all further entreaty would be in vain, and withdrew.⁽¹⁾ Yet it grieved him sorely not to stand upon better footing with the King, therefore on the following morning he humbly asked, through the Bishops, in what he had offended him, and what he must do to be received into his favor. "I have nothing to reproach the Archbishop with," was the answer, "but he cannot obtain my favour unless I first hear somewhat from him." "What can this mean?" says Anselm, when the Bishops brought back the answer. "The secret is clear," they replied, "He will have money." But on this point, Anselm firmly resisted; for if "he now propitiated the King in this way, he would soon again become ungracious, for the application of a like method of regaining his favour. And the Clergy are already so drained, that the imposition of fresh burdens would strip off their very skins. And would it not be the highest insult which he could inflict on the King if he should barter for his favor, as for a horse or an ass with a wretched penny? Bought favor is only worth its price, and therefore he never would seek to obtain it in this way." The Bishops now gave him to understand that

(1.) Respondi, me malle ut ipse mihi irasceretur, quam ut Deus illi, et sic a presentia ejus discessi. Ep. iii. 24. This interesting letter to Hugo, Archbishop of Lyons confirms the relation of Eadmer.

the King, at least calculated on the five hundred pounds which Anselm had previously offered. This, he said, he had already offered, and having been twice rejected, he considered it undignified to offer it again. When this was communicated to the King, he declared, that he had now no occasion for the blessing of the Archbishop, and that he might go whenever he wished.


Anselm saw that his power without the aid of higher authority was utterly inefficient: he therefore, above all things, was anxious to bring to a decision the question of the relationship to Rome, and here the circumstance of his not having received the Pallium, which was the Papal token of approbation of his preferment, offered a favourable opportunity. Under these circumstances, a journey to Rome would be regarded as an official acknowledgment of the Pope, as well as the re-establishment of his authority in England. In November, 1094, William returned from Normandy, the expedition having been unsuccessful: he had not been able to come to any settlement with Robert. Anselm immediately sought an interview, and met him at Illingham, a town about three miles from Shaftesbury; here he undisguisedly opened his resolution of journeying to Rome, to receive the pallium from the Pope. "Which Pope?" says the King. "Urban II." answered Anselm. "But I have not yet acknowledged him, and you know that neither I nor my father have allowed that any one in this kingdom should declare himself for a Pope, whom we have not received." In vain Anselm reminded William of the conversation at Rochester, in the summer of 1093, when he had expressly declared that

he could only accept the Archbishoprick under the condition of acknowledging Urban II. The wrath of the King was excited to such a degree, that he asserted he must regard Anselm's support of this Pope as a breach of his oath of allegiance. For "to acknowledge a Pope against his will was called an attack upon the Crown."⁽¹⁾ Anselm replied, that he could not allow such an unheard of assertion to pass without further examination, and requested that a Council might be called for an enquiry into the question "Whether, in fact, obedience to the Pope was incompatible with fidelity towards the King? If the decision should be given against him, he would rather abide out of the kingdom, until the King should acknowledge the Pope, than that he should renounce his obedience to him, even for a single moment."⁽²⁾ William could not but acknowledge the fairness of this proposal, and appointed the third Sunday in Lent, 11th March, 1095, for the meeting of a Council at Rockingham. Here when the King had conferred with his Privy Council on the measures to be discussed, Anselm on the appointed day in the presence of a great number of clergy, monks, and laity assembled in the Church of the Castle, commenced an address in which he first explained the points in dispute, and then directed his words to the Bishops, that the moment had now arrived for the fulfilment of their promises, which they had formerly given him on his elevation to the

(1.) unum foret ac si coronam suam sibi conaretur auferre. Ead. H. N. 40.

(2.) See the above quoted Ep. to Hugo, iii, 24., "Quod si hoc facere nequeo sine amissione Archiepiscopatus, melius est ut ego Archiepiscopatum rejiciam, quam Apostolicum abnegem.

Archbishoprick, that they would support him with counsel and deed, when his office might oppress him. For in every respect one alternative was as difficult as the other: to break his fidelity to the King, and to refuse obedience to the Pope, yet it would be impossible to keep his fidelity without renouncing his obedience, or his obedience without violation of his fidelity. The Bishops answered that they were unable to suggest counsel in such a difficult emergency, and must leave the decision to his own judgment. What they most desired, was his unconditional (*sine omni aliâ conditione*) submission to the King, and then they would be able to restore things into their proper channel. At all events, they offered themselves as mediators between him and the King; but as it was Sunday, further proceedings were postponed until the following day. When the Bishops and the Barons had again assembled in the Church, Anselm repeated his request that they would assist him with their advice. They replied "that they knew of no other means of issue than that he would simply submit himself to the King; but if he relied on spiritual counsel (*secundum Deum*) then they must be silent." A long pause followed: at length Anselm arose, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with a solemn voice spoke as follows, "Well! since you, ye pastors of the Church, and rulers of the people, leave me without counsel, I turn myself to the chief Shepherd and Ruler of all, the Angel of the great Council, and entreat him to enlighten me on this occasion, which is not so much mine, as the concern of Him and His Church. Know then, that in everything which belongs to God, I will obey the represen-



tative of St. Peter, but in everything which on the worldly side, by way of right, belongs to the King, my master, according to the best of my knowledge and conscience I will offer him faithful counsel and support." At once there arose a loud murmur in the Assembly, as if they would pronounce the sentence of guilty against the Archbishop. All stood up, became vehemently clamorous, and at last declared, that it was impossible for them to deliver this answer to the King. Nothing, therefore, remained but that Anselm should go to the King, and give him this explanation; from whom he soon returned. The King now took counsel with the Bishops and Nobles, what reply should be made to the declaration of Anselm. No one knew what to advise; they collected together in groups of two, three, and four, and conferred on the subject, but without coming to any general conclusion. In the meantime Anselm sat alone in the Church, and as several hours elapsed and no one appeared, he leant his head against the wall, and fell asleep. After a long consultation (for it was now evening) at last the Bishops with some of the Nobles returned from the King, and requested him to take the case into his better consideration. "He who encroaches on the rights of the King, encroaches upon him in his crown; therefore the kingdom must regard this as an attack on the crown, if you are more willing to obey the Pope than the King. Renounce this Urban who can neither help you, if the King is enraged with you, nor injure you if you are at peace with the King. Remain free, as it becometh an Archbishop of Canterbury! Acknowledge to the King that you have acted unjustly towards him,—conduct

yourself in future according to his will, and you will keep your Archbishoprick."

Anselm replied, that all endeavours to detach him from the Pope were in vain, but requested, that as the day was declining, the further discussion might be put off until the morrow. But at this request, the opponents manifested marks of embarrassment. And after they had laid it before the King, they advised him to grant no further time to Anselm, but proceed at once to a final decision of the affair, since it had been already sufficiently discussed. Their spokesman was William, Bishop of Durham, "a man more distinguished for readiness of tongue, than a sound understanding." He had pledged himself to reduce Anselm to the necessity of renouncing the Pope, or his Archbishoprick, whilst it was said, he had no disinclination to become Archbishop.⁽¹⁾ He easily persuaded the King to give him full authority: having obtained this, accompanied by the greatest possible number of Bishops and Barons, he returned to Anselm, and informed him "that the King would no longer forbear, but briefly declared, that he should proceed against him for high treason, if he did not at once renounce the Pope: for by his acknowledgment of Urban II. he robbed him of a right, which he esteemed the highest in his crown, and which he possessed above all other kings of the earth." Anselm calmly replied, "Who will prove to me that I by obedience to the Pope am guilty of a breach of fidelity

(1.) Therefore says Eadmer, he was the "auctor et inceptor hujus discidii. H. N., 42.

towards the King? Let him approach, and I am ready to stand the discussion, how and where it seemeth him good." This answer confounded the adversaries; they must confess to each other (what now first occurred to them) that a judicial process against Anselm (and such they aimed at) was altogether impossible, because the Archbishop of Canterbury could only be judged by the Pope, and could only be summoned before his court. In the meantime, the affair had spread abroad amongst the people. The Bishops had now returned to the King, and Anselm sat alone in the Church, when a common soldier entered, and embracing his knees, said, "Holy Father, thy children fervently entreat thee through me, let not thine heart fail thee, whatever thou art obliged to bear, but think on Job who sat in the ashes, and yet was prepared for the Devil, and thus avenged Adam, who had submitted to him in Paradise." Anselm received this address with a cheerful smile; "it confirmed," says Eadmer, "the truth of the saying, 'the voice of the people is the voice of God.'" When the King heard that the Bishops were unable to advise him, he became wrathful and exclaimed, "What meaneth this? Have you not promised to carry out my will, to upbraid him, to pronounce sentence against him?"—William of Durham was abashed, and knew not what to say. At last he thought, it is already night; let the King suffer the Archbishop to return to his lodging: during the night some counsel will occur. On the following morning, Anselm was again found at his usual place; the Bishops were in the Royal cabinet. William, Bishop of Durham, declared there were not

grounds for proceeding against Anselm, since he depended upon the word of God, the only means of success was force: the King must take from him ring and crosier, and banish him from the kingdom, unless he was willing to submit. Yet the temporal peers were not satisfied with this proposal, nor suffered themselves to be intimidated by the King, who unwillingly asked them, if this did not please them, what they wished for? He would endure no one who desired to be his equal in his kingdom: if they had known that Anselm had such good grounds for himself, why had they at all commenced the affair? They should either reduce him to obedience or he would condemn them.⁽¹⁾ Robert of Meulant replied, "they had already sufficiently broken their head against this business: but strange! while we are wearying ourselves to study out a connected speech, there he sits and sleeps, and when we come to deliver it, he tears it in pieces like a spiders web." "And the spiritual peers, what do they think?" asked the King. Their answer was, "the Archbishop is our Primate, and not only of this kingdom, but of Scotland, Ireland, and the adjacent islands: we are his suffragans, and cannot consistently judge him, even if (which is not the case) there was any charge against him." "But yet," the King replied, "you might withdraw from him your obedience and church communion." "That we can do if it should be your majesty's command." "Then hasten and denounce him, and say that I no longer acknow-

(1.) *ite, ite, consiliamini: quia, per vultum Dei, si vos illum ad voluntatem mean non damnabitis, ego damnabo vos.* Ead. H. N. 42.

ledge him as Archbishop, and deprive him of all protection and credit in my kingdom." In fact, the Bishops together with the Abbots obeyed the King, and renounced their allegiance to the Primate.⁽¹⁾ Anselm admonished them only to reflect, whether they were acting right. Nevertheless he should continue to regard them as brothers, and children of the Church of Canterbury, and do every thing in his power to open their eyes to their error: "nor shall I the less abide in the service of the King, and as far as is permitted, offer him spiritual counsel, since I do not in any way consider myself released from my office, but remain Archbishop as before, whatever outward circumstances may occur." The King now desired the temporal peers to follow the example of the Bishops, and refuse him their fidelity and friendship. But they declared, "We are not his people and have taken no oath of allegiance to him; but he is our Archbishop; he hath to rule the christianity of this kingdom, and we are christians, therefore we cannot withdraw ourselves from his guidance, nor can we perceive the least stain attached to him." The King did not dare to express his indignation against

(1.) Gondulf of Rochester is excepted. See Eadmeri vita, 16. "Roffensi solo excepto." Yet in Holinshed ii, 26, we find Ranulf, Bishop of Chichester as a supporter of Anselm. Godwin in his "Catalogue of the Bishops of England, Lond. 1615," is not consistent. In his account of Anselm, he says, "all forsook their Archbishop except one," Gondulphus, Bishop of Rochester. page 77. But page 446, he mentions Ralph, Bishop of Chichester. "He stood very stoutly in defence of Anselm the Archbishop: insomuch that when the King, William Rufus threatened him for the same, he offered him his ring and crosier, saying, it should better become him to leave his place than his duty. Neither could he be induced to forsake the said Archbishop, until he seemed to forsake his own cause, by flying the country."

them. But the Bishops were disgraced in the highest degree: men openly accused them as apostates, and called one, Judas; another, Herod; a third, Pontius Pilate. The King now asked them individually, whether unconditionally, or in reference to what Anselm had alleged on the authority of the Pope, they had withdrawn their obedience from him. Those who acknowledged the former reason, he called his true supporters, and appropriated them seats of honor near him: on the others he bestowed the appellation of traitors, and ordered them away from him, "into a corner of the house," to await the publication of their sentence: yet these also were soon able to appease him, by offering him, "which was their ordinary custom," a considerable sum of redemption money. But Anselm, who saw himself deprived of all security in the country, requested from the King a safe conduct to the nearest port, since he wished to leave the kingdom, until God should put an end to these disturbances. But this was not agreeable to the King, for however glad he would have been to get rid of Anselm, yet he did not wish to let him go away as Archbishop, since this would have been a ground of fresh offence, and it was not clear how he could deprive him of his See (*dissaisire*). He was altogether unwilling to consult the Bishops, for he considered them responsible for the whole embarrassment. He therefore held a conference with the temporal peers, who advised him to let the matter drop for a season. This advice appeared the best. They received a commission to treat with Anselm for a truce until Whitsuntide (*inducias*): on the following morning,

March 4th, they went and asked him, if this proposal was agreeable to him. From old friendship to him, they had recommended the King to adopt this measure, until a more perfect reconciliation could be effected.—Anselm gladly acceded, if he might not be prohibited in the mean time from his obedience to Urban II. An agreement was then made, that all things should remain in their former state until the appointed period, and that the controversy should then be resumed at the point where it had ceased. Anselm was now able to return to Canterbury, but in spite of the truce, he at once experienced the most severe annoyances from the King; for the revenge which he could not inflict upon himself, he turned upon his people. The faithful Baldwin of Tournay, Anselm's right hand, and two of the clergy, were banished from England, soon after the Council-day. The King even ordered the chamberlain of Anselm to be seized in his apartment, and dragged off to prison before his eyes. The subjects of the See were more grievously oppressed than ever, so that they loudly complained, that it had been better with them, when they had no Archbishop. For the King had not yet given up the estates; his own people kept them in possession, and as this was known to be agreeable to the King, persons without even a shadow of right laid claim to, and actually acquired the property of the Church.

The period of the truce had not yet expired, when suddenly there appeared a royal edict, which commanded the acknowledgment of Urban II. as the Vicegerent of St. Peter throughout the whole kingdom. William

had arrived at the conviction, that he could not remain any longer without a Pope. It also occurred to him, that he might make use of the Papistical authority even against Anselm: immediately, therefore, after the conference at Illingham, he had sent to Rome two of his chaplains (Gerhard, and William of Warelwast), in order to obtain information who was actually the Canonical Pope; him they were to endeavour to induce, "by holy promises" to send to himself (the King) the pallium for the Archbishop of Canterbury, but without naming the person of Anselm, so that the King might be at liberty to confer it upon whom he pleased. For he had still hopes that Anselm would be condemned by the Council to be held at Rockingham, and deposed. His successor might then receive the pallium at his (the King's) hands, and the ecclesiastical investiture would in a certain measure proceed from him. Urban II., who indeed had no other thoughts, but that Anselm would receive the same, was in fact persuaded, and introduced Walter, Bishop of Albano, to the two chaplains in order to convey the pallium to the King. He travelled incognito through Canterbury, and hastened to William, without mentioning what he carried, and without speaking to any one except in the presence of the chaplains: such had been the King's injunctions. A short time before Whitsuntide, he arrived at the Court, and behaved himself so agreeably to the King, scarcely touching upon the dispute with Anselm, that many who had indulged in joyful hopes on his arrival, were dissatisfied, and thought "if in Rome, silver and gold are regarded instead of justice, where shall they

find counsel and protection, who have none to offer?" But the King, enraptured with the courtesy of the Legate, who promised him every thing which he desired if he would only acknowledge Urban II., hesitated not to comply, and the above mentioned edict appeared. Hereupon he proceeded to unfold his actual design, and asked the Legate, if it would not be possible, in the name of the Pope to depose Anselm; and at the same time offered to him, as well as to the Church of Rome, a considerable yearly pension, if he would accomplish this object. But here the suppleness of the Legate ceased: he declared that it was absolutely impossible, and William would now gladly have revoked his acknowledgment of the Pope. But since he could not alter what had been once done, he must consider how he might be reconciled to Anselm without any great concessions on his part. The latter was at that time residing in the village of Mortelach. The King summoned him to Eisa, a village which was nearer Windsor, where at that time he held his court. From thence he would send Ambassadors who might communicate with him on the great subject of dispute. They appeared on the following day, consisting of Bishops who were then present at court, and urged their entreaties again upon Anselm, that he should seek to recover the King's favor by a present of money. This, Anselm most positively refused,⁽¹⁾ but declared that he should be most grateful to the King if he would allow him as before, the ad-

(1.) nunquam Domino meo hanc contumeliam faciam, ut facto probem, amicitiam ejus esse venalem. Ead. H. N., 44.

ministration of his Archbishoprick, under the supervision of Urban II. If not, he must renew his petition for a safe conduct to the sea. The Bishops now imparted to him the intervening circumstances, and that the King had caused the Pallium to be sent for from Rome. "It is now your turn to consider in what way you can requite the King for so great a favor: for what would otherwise have cost you much labour, you have now without difficulty, unless you cause any further annoyances." "God knows" sighed Anselm, who easily saw through the secret aim of the King, "whether he hath hereby performed a service for me." "But you will not refuse" they replied "at least to repay the King the expences of this journey to Rome?" But Anselm refused this also, and the King was at last obliged by the counsel of his peers, to make an unconditional (*gratis*) reconciliation with Anselm. He caused intimation to be made to him, that he would forget the past and consider him again as Archbishop of Canterbury and his spiritual Father. Anselm was now highly delighted, went to Windsor, and presented himself to the King, who received him with great distinction, so that Bishop Walter quoted the words of the Psalm cxxxiii, 1., "*En! quam bonum et jucundum, habitare fratres in unum,*" although (as Eadmer adds) he had contributed nothing towards it. The question of receiving the Pallium was now brought forward.—Some in order to flatter the King, asserted that Anselm should receive it from his hands. But Anselm said that "it was no gift from the King, but from the Pope:—" this was allowed by all. It was finally agreed, that the

Legate should place it on the High Altar in Canterbury Cathedral, and that Anselm should take it from thence "as from the hand of St. Peter." On the second Sunday after Whitsuntide (June 10th, 1095) this solemnity took place.

Better times appeared to be commencing. On his journey from Windsor, Anselm had been gratified by the appearance of two Bishops, Robert of Hereford and Osmund of Sherbourne, (Salisbury) who rode after him, to ask pardon for their abnegation of him on the Court Day at Rockingham, which he solemnly imparted to them in the first church that they came to on their way. He then also reinstated Wilfred, Bishop of St. David's, whom he had previously suspended for some offence unknown to us. The remainder afterwards came to him, acknowledged their injustice, and made fresh vows of obedience, so that by degrees the antient order appeared to be restored to the Church.⁽¹⁾ The King also shewed a friendly disposition. Baldwin of Tournay and the other exiles were recalled shortly after the Court Day at Windsor. Herbert of Thetford received again his episcopal crosier, and as the sees of Hereford

(1) See An. Ep. iii. 36. It appears from this Epistle that the Papal Legate for some time prevented the restoration of order, by listening to the refractory Bishops, who regarded Anselm as a schismatic, because he had received ordination from schismatics, (*i.e.* from Bishops who did not acknowledge Urban II.) Anselm defends himself against this reproach in this letter to the Legate, in which he asserts, that the Bishops who ordained him, had done it entirely "*sub professione obedientie Romani Pontificis*," although they might have still been in doubt as to the canonicity of Urban II. That Urban himself had also confirmed him by sending the Pallium. According to Mabillon (Ann. T. V. p. 345.) the Legate made so many difficulties, because Anselm was unwilling to pay anything for the Pallium.

and Worcester fell vacant this year by the deaths of Wulfstan and Robert, the King hastened to fill them up, by conferring the former on Sampson of Bayeux, (brother of Thomas, Archbishop of York) the other on the above mentioned chaplain, Gerhard. Both were consecrated by Anselm on the 15th June, 1096, in St. Paul's Church, London. During this year the first Crusade took place, and Duke Robert III. resolved to join it. He therefore made over Normandy for three years to his brother, on the payment of a sum of ten thousand pounds silver for his equipment. This sum had to be raised in England, and since the treasury of the king was always at a low ebb, he applied to his peers. Anselm thought it but fair to cooperate with the King on this occasion, and as he had not so much money in hand, by the advice of his friends, and with the consent of the Chapter, he for this time took the sum (200 marks, half silver, half gold) from the treasury of the Church of Canterbury: but in order not to leave a bad example to his successors, he devoted for the payment of it, seven years income of his manorial estate of Peccheham, which then brought some thirty pounds rent.⁽¹⁾ Notwithstanding, upon this occasion some disagreements arose, whilst the King dissatisfied with the voluntary contributions of the Prelates, extorted money

(1.) This money was employed "in novo opere quod a majori turre in orientem tenditur, quodque ipse Pater Anselmus inchoasse dinoscitur." Eadmer adds H. N. 46, I make this remark in order to stop the mouths of those who have accused Anselm of plundering the Church. On the contrary he enabled it, "res suas in majori quam solebat libertate possidere, et alia quedam quæ Antecessores ejus in dominio suo tenebant, ipsi ecclesiæ perpetuo jure possidenda concessit. See Ep. III, 71."

from them, so that many were obliged to melt their sacramental plate, and even strip the relique chests and gospel books of their gold and silver ornaments, in order to meet the demands of the King. He set sail in September, for Normandy, paid to his brother, two thirds of the stipulated sum, and took possession of the country he had so long coveted.

In February, 1097, he returned to England, and opened a campaign against the rebellious Welch. On the conclusion of it, there was a general expectation that he would yield to the repeated solicitations of Anselm and convoke a synod, in order at length to effect something towards the reformation of the degraded state of public morals. For the helplessness to which the Church had for some years been reduced by oppression, the dissoluteness of the clergy, the decay of the monasteries, the disorder in political relations, in consequence of the "the Conquest," and the bad example given by the King, these causes had everywhere produced wild and uncivilized habits, which were highly offensive to the sober minded, and required the most comprehensive counter-measures for their suppression.

Hitherto the King had always excused himself from the applications of Anselm, on account of his warlike engagements: now that peace was restored, the latter, and all well disposed men, hoped for a more favorable reply to his request. But when he was preparing to represent the subject afresh to the King, he received a letter from him, in which he found great fault with the troops which Anselm had furnished for the campaign,

both as having been deficient in armour, and bodily ineffective, and commanded him to be prepared to answer the charge, before a court of Justice. Anselm now began to despair of accomplishing anything under this King: "we looked for peace," he exclaimed, "and there is no good, and for the time of healing, and behold trouble"! (Jer. xiv. 19.) It was clear that the accusation was only a pretext, in order to prevent him from keeping his word to the Church: and as Anselm knew that the court of Justice was altogether dependant on the will of the King, he determined not to appear before it, but adopt his long cherished plan of visiting Rome.⁽¹⁾ At the court day at Whitsuntide, 1097, when the King was about to bring the accusation against him, either in order to extort an enormous fine, or impose perpetual silence, he presented his request through some peers, for permission to undertake a journey to Rome. The King was extremely surprized, and said he knew not what Anselm could desire at Rome, "for he could scarcely have committed so great a sin, as expressly to require the absolution of the Pope, and as to counsel—he could rather impart it to the Pope, than the Pope to him; no good can result from the journey." Anselm calmly replied, "If he refuses me permission now, perhaps he will grant it at another time. The power is in his hands; but I will not cease to ask." This

(1.) In the letter of thanks, which he sent to Urban for the pallium, he expresses this wish. Ep. III. 37. *Rogo etiam—ut in maufragio positus, si quando, procellis irruentibus, adjutorii vestri indigens ad sinum matris ecclesiæ confugero; propter eum, qui sanguinem suum dedit pro nobis, pium et promptum adjutorium et solamen inveniam in vobis.*

proposal had at least one good effect, in putting an end to all thought of summoning Anselm before the court of Justice, and he was allowed to return home peaceably. The King held a court in August, After the termination of its special business, Anselm approached and presented his request a second time. It was again refused. In October, the court again assembled at Winchester. Anselm petitioned the third time. "The man becomes troublesome to me," the King exclaimed "I cannot allow this to proceed further: if he comes to me once more with his petition, I shall summon him before a judicial tribunal, and he must pay me a considerable fine." Anselm caused him to be asked, whether he would not enquire into the justice of his request. The answer was, "I cannot submit to enquire into his reasons: If he journeys to Rome, he loses his Archbishoprick, that is plain." But some of the peers thought the affair was not to be settled so summarily, and while one proposed this, another that, "a mighty tempest arose." At last a postponement until the following day was agreed on. A deputation of Barons and Bishops then came to Anselm, to ask him once more concerning his intentions. He declared that for the sake of the salvation of the flock entrusted to him, as well as of his own, and also that of the King, he must persist in his request. They said unto him, "abstain, for the King will never concede it" "Then" he replied "I will stand upon the saying, 'we must obey God rather than men'." He then proceeded to explain to the Bishops the reasons for his journey, and asked their opinion as to the validity of them. They replied "that they all really

acknowledged the piety of Anselm: but that as to themselves, they had too many earthly regards, too many relations to provide for, &c., and were unable so entirely to turn their backs upon the world."⁽¹⁾ Anselm's aims were too exalted for them. If he would lower himself to their standard, they professed their readiness to support him. But if he relied upon God alone, then they must leave him to himself, for on no account could they detach themselves from the King. Anselm replied "then go to the King, I will abide in God." After some time, during which "we continued in fervent prayer" (Eadmer must have accompanied Anselm) they came back with several Barons and declared, that the King was highly displeased with him. He had already annoyed him with various complaints, tormented, and provoked him. At the Court day at Rockingham on his promise in future to keep the laws and customs of the country, the King had relented and believed that he would remain quiet. Nevertheless Anselm now comes forward with his petition and will not desist upon one refusal. This is an open violation of his promise: for it was something unheard of and against the custom of the country, for a peer to take such liberties, and least of all should he. But the King for his own security desired that Anselm would either pledge himself upon oath, never and on no occasion to apply to the throne of St. Peter's, or in all haste to

(1.) Scimus te virum religiosum esse et sanctum, et in coelis conversationem tuam. Nos autem impediti consanguineis nostris quos sustentamus et multiplicibus sæculi rebus quas amamus, fatemur, ad sublimitatem vite tuæ surgere nequimus, nec huic mundo tecum illudere. Ead. H. N., 47.

leave the country. Yet in the former case he left it to the decision of the Court of Justice to fix upon a sum by which he must atone for his rashness, in having three times annoyed the King with a petition in which he must have been conscious that he could not succeed. After having given this explanation they returned to the King. Then Anselm arose and advanced into the royal presence chamber, placed himself on the right hand of the King, and asked him whether what he had heard, really proceeded from him; and on the King's confirmation of it, continued as follows, "I have in every respect promised to observe the usages and customs of this kingdom, and to defend them against everybody: but only those (and I am confident that at that time I made this limitation) which are consistent with right and the will of God." At this word, the King and the Peers interrupted him, and assured him that he had not made the slightest mention of God or of right. Anselm replies, "now what of that? can a Christian pledge himself to observe anything which is contrary to right and the will of God?" They all murmured, but knew not what to answer. "All trust which any one in a lawful way can vow to man, rests on his trust in God; for God is the only bond between men and men. He only who is true to God will be true to men. But if truth towards God is the condition of truth towards men, the latter loses its obligatory power, when it contradicts the former: the truth which I owe to God constrains me to seek counsel from the head of Christendom. He who is not willing to oppose God cannot withstand my resolution, or would you not

consider him punishable, who should hinder one of your own people from paying his due service to you." "O! ho!" exclaimed the King and Robert of Meulant, "this becomes a sermon and is no investigation of the case." They all united in this exclamation and endeavoured to cry down the Archbishop. With sunken head, Anselm was silent until a tear began to flow, then he proceeded "you desire from me an oath that I will never apply to the Holy See: that would be to deny this see, and since it is Christ who has founded it, to rule his Church, to deny Christ also." "Well then" bawled out Robert of Meulant, "Go to the Pope: we know what remains to us."⁽¹⁾ "God knows" Anselm replied, "what remains to you: yet he will assist me to visit the graves of his Apostles." With these words he departed. A deputation from the King followed him and informed him that he was at liberty to go; yet the King would not permit him to take any of his (the king's) property. "What may that mean" asked Anselm, "does it apply to my horse, clothes, furniture? gladly would I set out on my journey barefoot and naked." "That is not the meaning" the Earl replied, "in eleven days you must be prepared to embark, and then a messenger of the King's will inform you at the port, what you must take with you or not." Anselm was already on the way to his lodgings, when as if he had forgotten something, he turned back once more to the King, and with a cheerful countenance said, "However sorry I may feel on your account for what

(1.) Viz.—The Archbishoprick, its revenues, &c.

you have determined against me, on my own, I bear it gladly. Your welfare does not the less affect my heart, and since I know not whether we may again see each other, permit me to recommend you to the divine protection, and as a spiritual father impart to you, my spiritual son, my blessing." "It is allowed you," said the astonished King, and bowed his head in order to receive this last token of affection from Anselm.

On the 15th of October, 1097, Anselm departed from court. On his arrival at Canterbury, on the following morning, he assembled the monks of the Cathedral Monastery, (who formed his Chapter) and gave them a parting address.⁽¹⁾ "He had stedfast hopes," he said, "that his journey would have a favorable influence on the freedom of the Church, although in future years. It grieved him indeed, that he must now leave them, without defence, a prey to their adversaries. But yet they are no 'novices in the school of the Lord,' not to know that it is a school of sorrow. It is true, the men of this world become weary, when God suffers them to fall into temptation: for they only serve God for a reward, for the sake of worldly advantage. They only praise him when he does them good, as the Psalmist says, and murmur when he deserts them. But the monk hath a heavenly aim in view, and knows neither the joy nor sorrow of this world: he beholds the glory of God from afar, and this shines above all other. But unfortunately amongst monks, are worldly men, hirelings amongst the Lord's labourers; therefore, I intreat,

(1.) *Fp*, V. 11-18.

I conjure you, my brothers, if we now part from each other, mourning, conduct yourselves, so that we may meet again with joy, in the presence of God." Tears here interrupted his speech. All sobbed: no one was able to answer. At last he recovered himself, and said, "You now know, my dearest friends, what wish I cherish for you in my heart. Therefore I will add nothing more: but may the God of love and peace abide with you: let me go." Hereupon he gave to every one a brotherly kiss: and then went into the Church to take leave of the people, who were numerously assembled, advanced to the altar, took from thence scrip and pilgrim's staff, blessed all, and set out on his wanderings. On the same day he arrived at Dover, and found the messenger of the King, of whom, notice had been given him at Winchester. It was William of Warelwast. He had to wait fourteen days for a favorable wind. During the whole of this time, William kept a sharp look out upon Anselm, without communicating what he actually wished, until the very moment when the sailors gave the signal to embark. He then suddenly caused him to be arrested, under pretext of a royal command, that he was not to sail, until his baggage had been searched. It was supposed that he had large sums of money with him. Amidst the loud murmurings of the surrounding multitude, his chests and coffers were opened and examined by the commissary, who, when he was fully disappointed in his expectations, allowed the embarkation to take place. The Archbishoprick was at once put under confiscation, and visited in the same manner, or rather more severely than formerly.

CHAPTER THE NINTH.

ANSELM'S FIRST EXILE.⁽¹⁾

The ship which conveyed Anselm from England, after a stormy passage arrived at Witsand. From thence he prosecuted his journey through Flanders and France, and every where met with a favorable reception from the clergy, monks, and laity. Yet in his further progress he was occasionally exposed to danger, for a rich booty was calculated on from an Archbishop of Canterbury. Eadmer thus describes an attack which was attempted upon him by a Duke of Burgundy. "After we had left France and entered Burgundy, we halted and were preparing to take our meal, when a band of horsemen headed by the Duke suddenly appeared, and with a loud outcry wished to know which was the Archbishop. Anselm who was yet

(1.) Eadm, H. N., II. Vit. Anselm, II. 19.

sitting calmly on his horse, was pointed out to them. The Duke rode up to him in a menacing attitude, but was at once thrown into the greatest embarrassment by the open salutation of Anselm. As if metamorphosed he replied, that he was delighted to be able to receive the Archbishop in his territory. Anselm also testified his joy, for he felt assured that the Duke would protect him and his suite. 'Certainly,' was the reply, 'and I only request from you your blessing': at the same time one of the Duke's people received orders to conduct the Archbishop through the country. After his departure, he cursed those who had advised him to the undertaking, 'for' he added 'I did not seem to look on a man, but on the face of an angel.' Three days before Christmas, Anselm arrived at Clugny, where he found a hospitable reception. From thence he communicated his arrival to Hugo, Archbishop of Lyons, with whom without a personal acquaintance, he had for years carried on a correspondence. Both rejoiced greatly at the prospect of meeting, and Anselm wished to have a conference with him and the Abbot of Clugny on his affairs, before he proceeded on his journey. Yet Hugo did not meet him at Clugny, but invited him at once to Lyons. Bernhard, the Bishop of Macon was commissioned to greet him on the part of the Archbishop, and conduct him with all solemnity. In the metropolis he was received with every mark of honor by Hugo, and Anselm was glad to repose for a while with his friend, after the difficulties of his journey. He here found that his route could not be continued without the greatest danger, since the Imperial party (although

Henry IV. had returned to Germany in 1097) still commanded in Upper Italy, and allowed no supporter of Urban II. to pass. He therefore wrote from Lyons the following letter to the Pope. "I had resolved, Holy Father, in the sorrowfulness of my heart, to visit you for counsel and support; but for reasons which the bearer of this will explain to you, this is impossible, and I therefore address you in writing. It is sufficiently known with what an unwilling heart I became Archbishop. Four years have elapsed since my acceptance of this office, without producing the least fruit. My oppressions have been so severe, that I had rather die out of England than live any longer where I was continually incurring a greater responsibility. For I must daily be witness to things which I could not endure, and against which I was not in a condition to adopt measures. The King only made use of the death of the Prelates to oppress the Churches. This oppression especially affected me and the Church of Canterbury, by his consigning its estates to his own people, imposing unheard of burdens, and arbitrarily trampling under foot all the laws of the Church. Whenever I complained, instead of redress, I was always reminded of customary privileges. When I now saw that by my silence I should confirm all these abuses to the injury of my successor, and that no means were at hand to obtain justice, (for all from fear, withdrew their support) I requested permission to journey to Rome. Upon this the King was so indignant, that he regarded it as a grievous offence, for which I must make satisfaction, and assure him that I would never apply to the Holy

See. Under these circumstances, it is not possible for me to retain my office with a good conscience, and I therefore request you to release me from it, and according to your wisdom and authority provide for the Church of England in some other way. The Lord be with you, and cast Satan and the Gates of Hell under your feet."

In the mean while a report was spread throughout Italy, that the Archbishop of Canterbury laden with treasures was travelling to Rome, and if the desire of booty had already excited many, it would have been much more the case on his further progress. By his protracted residence at Lyons he escaped this danger, but at the same time was taken so alarmingly ill, that for some days his recovery was despaired of. This was made known to the banditti by the travellers, and they gave up their intention of molesting him. He was scarcely recovered when he received an answer from Urban II., which summoned him to Rome without delay. On the Thursday before Palm Sunday, 17th March, 1098, he resumed his journey with every possible precaution. The account of it is as follows: "we were three, Father Anselm, the Master Baldwin, and I the Brother Eadmer who write this. We travelled as if we were all plain monks, and no one had any mark of distinction. Thus we arrived on Saturday at a village named Aspera, (the first as it seemed in the hostile district.) The boors received us kindly and lodged us; but Anselm wished in order to prepare himself better for the following Sunday, and because we were monks, to spend the night in the cloister of the place, and therefore requested admission, which was

not denied us. In the evening as we were conversing with the monks and said that we were come from France, and intended journeying to Rome, they replied, 'that we ought to give up that intention, for every monk was exposed to the greatest danger on this journey; therefore the Archbishop of Canterbury who had advanced to Piacenza had returned, and was now at Lyons. Baldwin replied, 'he has done right, but we will try how far we can go, and if it does not succeed, we will revisit you.' 'Now may the bountiful God protect you,' was the answer. We kept Palm Sunday in the cloister and then set out on our wanderings over the Alps. In Susa we were again received into a cloister, and in answer to the question of the Abbot, who we were, we replied 'monks from Bec;' then he immediately enquired after the pious Anselm, 'that friend of God, and of all good men.' Baldwin replied, that he was now an Archbishop. 'That I have heard,' said the Abbot, 'but how is he?' 'Quite well.' 'Now that rejoices me: I pray daily for his welfare.' Notwithstanding, Anselm did not wish to be recognized, but during our conversation remained quite silent, and hardly ventured to raise his eyes from the ground. We kept the Easter festival at St. Michael's in Chiusa, and from thence continued our journey without interruption. We succeeded in not being discovered,⁽¹⁾ yet the mere appearance of Anselm filled the people with such reverence, that they designated him as a 'man of the life.'

(1.) *neminem agnoscentes, nemini qui vel unde essemus innotescentes et ecce solus Anselmi aspectus in admirationem sui populos excitabat, eumque esse virum vite designabat.* Ead. Vit. 20.

Even at the inns where we did not feel at all secure, many thronged therein, in order to receive his blessing. At length we fortunately reached Rome, and the Pope at once provided us with apartments in the Lateran palace, where he then resided, (for the troops of the anti-pope still occupied the castle of St. Angelo.) He wished us to give up the day of our arrival to repose. On the following morning he admitted his guest to a solemn audience, at which nearly all the nobility of the city attended. At his entrance Anselm cast himself at his feet: but the Pope lifted him up, kissed him, and conducted him to a seat especially appointed for him. Urban now poured forth commendations on Anselm, not only because he was a light of science, whom he himself might respect as his master, but also an example of humility, who on this account had applied for counsel at the chair of St. Peter, although Urban added, 'we much more require his counsel than he does ours.' Anselm blushed with shame and was unable to utter a word. When the Pope asked him more closely as to the object of his journey, he explained himself in terms corresponding with the letter which he had written from Lyons. Yet Urban would not hear of a resignation, but requested him to wait the result of an epistle to the King of England, in which he earnestly⁽¹⁾ required the re-establishment of Anselm, with full liberty for exercise of his Archiepiscopal office. Anselm also wrote to the King, and both letters were conveyed together to England. An answer was to be received before any further measures were to be resolved upon.

(1.) *movet, hortatur, imperat.* Eadmer. The letter has not come down to us.

At that time, there was living in the district of Beneventum, John, a native Roman, and a former pupil of Anselm's, at Bec. He had entered the monastery, but having been recalled to Italy, by Urban, was appointed Abbot of the cloister of St. Salvador, near Telesi, (on the Calore, not far from its conflux with the Volturno). He had scarcely heard of the arrival of Anselm, when he earnestly invited him to visit him: and as a drought prevailed at that time in Rome, which rendered a residence there dangerous for strangers, the Pope advised him to accept the invitation.

After ten days, Anselm departed from Rome, in order to await further tidings at Telesi: during his journey, he was every where received with the highest marks of affection and honour, and as he drew nigh to Telesi, John, "as a good son to his father," came to meet him, with the whole of his convent. Yet the heat there was too oppressive, and John conducted him to an estate of the cloister, named Sclavia. Anselm could not have wished for a more beautiful abode. A single monk resided in the house, besides the people who managed the property. From its position on the top of a mountain, it was as it were cut off from all the world, and the "happy Campania" was extended at his feet. "Yea, here will I build my tabernacle, here I shall freely breathe," was his exclamation, when John introduced him. He now returned to the contemplative and studious manner of life, which he had led during the first years of his entrance into the monastery of ⁽¹⁾Bec,

(1.) Sanctis operibus, divinæ contemplationi, mysticarum rerum enodationi die noctuque mentem intendens. Ead. Vit. 20.

and completed the work, which, with the exception of the Prosologium, is the most important of all his writings, the treatise, "Cur Deus homo." He had commenced it in England in the midst of his most violent contests, but brought it to a conclusion in this delightful⁽¹⁾ abode. Here also he soon became the favorite of the whole country. For he was accessible to every one, and gladly suffered interruptions in his meditations when he could impart advice or consolation. And all esteemed themselves fortunate, who could only see him or receive his blessing. The place also was to enjoy a temporal benefit from him. It had but one well which was not only very deep and difficult of access, being situated on a declivity of the mountain, but so soon exhausted, that from the ninth hour of the day until the following morning, no water could be procured from it. The inhabitants wished to have another well, and if possible on the top of the mountain. The superintending monk mentioned this to Anselm, and asked him to examine the ground and point out a suitable spot. Anselm complied with his request, and after a few days digging they came to a spring, and a well of moderate depth was made, which supplied a copious stream of the purest water. It was called the well of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁽²⁾

At a little distance war was raging. The town of

(1.) "In magna enim cordis tribulatione, quam unde et cur passus sim, novit Deus, illud in Anglia rogatus incepti, et in Capuana provincia peregrinus perfecti." *Præf.*

(2.) Hasse on the authority Henshen, says that it retained its name in 1640, when it was visited by D. Silverster Ayossa, a priest of Capua.

Capua which engaged in a like struggle with Amalfi, had in 1091, on the death of the prince Jordan I. endeavoured to expel his son, Richard II., and throw off the Norman yoke. Richard applied for aid to his relation, Roger, Duke of Apulia, as well as to his uncle the Count (Roger I.) of Sicily, which after long delays they supplied. In April, 1098, the three Norman hosts united, and besieged Capua so closely that it capitulated in June, and was restored to Richard II. The Duke Roger had heard of Anselm, and was the more desirous to make his acquaintance, because William Rufus, not content with having expelled him from his kingdom, persecuted him also in foreign lands, and sent presents and letters to the Norman princes in Lower Italy, to excite them against him. But here a more correct judgment was formed of him, and he was in a most friendly manner invited by the Duke to spend a few days in his camp. He sent for him with a large troop of soldiers, and quartered him in an old ruinous church not far from his tent, where he visited him every morning. Soon after, the Pope came to the encampment, in order (as supreme liege lord of the Norman States in Lower Italy) if possible to make a treaty of peace. The Princes received him with every solemnity (*ingenti mundialis gloriæ pompa*) and conducted him to a splendid tent, which they had caused to be erected in the vicinity of the church, so that the Pope and Anselm might have continual intercourse together, "and at the same time, both people formed one family." Whoever paid his respects to the Pope, came also to Anselm; and while many avoided the former,

all approached the latter without hesitation, for they revered the Pope, but loved Anselm : and while the former received only the great, the lowest obtained admission to the latter. And not only Christians found access to him, but Heathens (Saracens) also, many thousands of whom, Count Roger had brought from Sicily. The mildness of Anselm often attracted them to visit him, and he never sent them away without a piece of bread, or some other assistance. He was therefore in such high esteem with the heathen, that when "we went through the rows of their tents, which formed a separate encampment, they always with uplifted hands prayed for his welfare, or (*pro ritu suo*) placed their hand on the mouth and bowed the knee." Many also declared their willingness to become Christians, only they feared to incur the displeasure of their count, for he was decidedly opposed to their⁽¹⁾ conversion. "*Quod qua industria, ut ita dicam, faciebat, nihil mea interest ; viderit Deus et ipse.*"

After the surrender of Capua, Anselm went with the Pope to Aversa, and whilst the latter lodged in the town, the former was received by the monks of the abbey of St. Lorenzo. Here Anselm again urged upon the Pope his request to be released from his Archbishoprick. Upon this Urban was very indignant, and exclaimed, "Oh for the bishop, the shepherd! he has not yet shed one drop of blood, and will desert the flock ; Christ pointed out the feeding of his sheep to Peter, as an example which he must shew unto him of his love, and

(1.) Sicily had been possessed by the Saracens, from 827 to 1072.

Anselm, the pious Anselm, has only his own rest in his eye, and will he leave the sheep a prey to the wolves? My dearest Brother, take heed of this temptation: if the tyranny of thy prince hath constrained thee to live in banishment, thou yet remainest Archbishop; no power can deprive thee of the office of the keys, and I release thee not from them; I rather command thee, in the name of God and in the stead of St. Peter, never to give them up." Anselm replied, "gladly will I obey, and how gladly, alas! how gladly would I endure stripes and wounds, and suffer death itself for the flock of Christ. But the flock which I feed, and the hirelings which should support me, cast me off and acknowledge me not: what then can I do?." The Pope did not proceed with the conversation, but invited him to attend the council to be held at Bari, in the month of October. "Then I will see what measures can be adopted for the freedom of the Church, with the sword of St. Peter."

Upon this, Anselm returned to Scavia, where he spent the remainder of the summer. At the appointed time he met Urban, and they travelled together to Bari.⁽¹⁾ One hundred and eighty five Bishops arrived

(1.) Mansi, T. xx. p. 950. Eadmer who never had been present at a council, was but too happy. *Inter hæc ego, Patri per omnia præsens aderam paratus videlicet ad servitium ejus. Et quia mihi ab infantia hic mos erat, semper nova, quæ forte, sed maxime in ecclesiasticis, occurrebant, diligenti intentione considerare ac memoriæ commendare, dispositum concilium, loca et ordines personarum, modos et examinationes causarum, curiosa fortasse magis quam sagaci mente et oculo, hinc inde utpote qui nunquam prius talia videram, modesto intuitu consideravi.* H. N. 54. He remarks that the Pope wore a Casula, and over it the Pallium, whilst the others had only Cappas. The Cappa of the Archbishop of Beneventum caused him the greatest delight, because by it, he was reminded of what he had heard as a boy, from the "seniores" of his church, the excellent Edwi, Blacheman, Farman, and

there, and on the 3rd of October the Council was opened in the church of St. Nicholas. Two questions were brought before it. The first, doctrinal, on the procession of the Holy Ghost, since many Greeks were present at the council, in order if possible, to induce the Latin Church to acknowledge their doctrine, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father alone. The Pope vigorously disputed with them, and made use of a writing of Anselm's against Roscelin (*de fide trinitatis et de incarnatione verbi*) which he had dedicated and sent to him, in the year 1093. By it he was reminded of the presence of the author himself. "Father and Master, Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, where art thou?" he suddenly cried out. They all looked at each other in astonishment, for no one had hitherto known who the silent, modest looking man was, whom at the commencement of the session they had seen with difficulty find a place, whilst the Pope in the press of business had forgotten to assign him one. He rose up whilst he uttered these words, "What are your commands? Holy Father, here I am." "Wherefore art thou silent?" asked the Pope, "come up here to me and contend for thy mother and mine, the Church. For her defence it seems that God sent thee hither." All

others, viz., that the very same cappa (*valde preciosa aurifrigio ex omni parte ornata*) originally belonged to Canterbury, and in the time of Canute, had been given to a former Archbishop of Beneventum on his visiting England, by the then Archbishop Egelnoth. Eadmer proceeds, "*non modice letatus et cappam et verba mihi puero ex inde dicta, patri Anselmo ostendi.*" After the Council he went to the Bishop of Beneventum "*et inter alia mutue dilectionis colloquia, capi de eadem cappa loqui, et unde illam haberet, quasi nescius, interrogavi: summam rei exposuit et eam ordine quo descripsi, suam ecclesiam ab ecclesia Cantuariensi adeptam esse declaravit.*"

at once respectfully drew back to make way for him, so that he might have a seat close to the Pope.⁽¹⁾ A whispering and questioning pervaded the whole assembly, until at length the Pope introduced him to them, and after a representation of his merits, explained the cause of his banishment and present appearance. Anselm now prepared himself to enter upon the proposed discussion; but the assembly had been so much excited by this incident, that it was deemed advisable to adjourn until the following day. They then assembled earlier than usual, and an elevated place was especially assigned to Anselm, from which he defended the Latin doctrine with such acuteness, deep insight and wisdom,⁽²⁾ and with such triumphant eloquence, that there was no individual in the assembly who did not express his satisfaction. The arguments and scripture proofs which he made use of he afterwards collected in a separate treatise (*de processione spiritus sancti contra Græcos*) and at the request of his friends sent it into all those countries which had intercourse with the Greeks. The Pope concluded with a benediction on the excellent disputant⁽³⁾ and they all

(1.) *Juxta Romanum Archidiaconum, cui ante Papam sedere moris erat.* Guil. Malm.

(2.) *Regente cor et linguam ejus spiritu sancto.* Eadm.

(3.) Laud in his conference with Fisher thus writes, "Secondly, it is as plain, that in those antient times of the Church government, Britain was never subject to the See of Rome. For it was one of the six Dioceses of the West Empire, and had a Primate of its own: nay, John Capgrave one of your own and learned for those times, and long before him, William of Malmesbury tells us 'that Pope Urban II. at the Council held at Bari in Apulia, accounted my worthy predecessor, S. Anselm, as his own compeer, and said he was as the Apostolic and Patriarch of the other world.' (so he then termed this island.)" *Laud's Works, Oxford, 1849.* II. 190.

combined solemnly to reject the doctrine, "that the Holy Ghost did not proceed from the Son."

After the doctrinal the Pope introduced the subject of ecclesiastical right. He laid before the assembly the condition of the Church of England, pointed out its oppressions from the covetousness and tyranny of the King, how he had offered the spiritual offices to public sale, and to what insults the Archbishop had been exposed, who had been banished from his country on account of his attachment to the Apostolical Throne. He moreover stated that he had several times sent admonitory and threatening letters to the King, to which no attention had been given, as the presence of Anselm fully testified. "What think ye? to what conclusion do ye arrive my brothers?" The answer was, "if you have admonished the King, once, twice, three times, without his listening to the Church, nothing more remains, than the sentence of excommunication, until reparation of the injury." "So let it be," said the Pope. Then Anselm who had hitherto sat silent, cast himself at the feet of the Pope and would not rise until he had revoked the severe sentence of excommunication⁽¹⁾; only the general investiture-prohibition was renewed.

After the Council, Anselm journeyed back with the Pope to Rome, and awaited the arrival of the messenger who had carried their letters to England. The King

(1.) Collier E. H., II. 93, observes "And now the Council who admired Anselm before for his parts and learning, were farther charmed with him for his Christianity and good nature, to see him return good for evil in so remarkable an instance, and interpose for the King, who had used him so very roughly.

had only received that from the Pope; Anselm's was returned and the messenger who was recognized as one of the Archbishop's people, and was threatened by his favorite oath (*per vultum Dei*) that his eyes should be torn out unless he hastily departed. Somewhat later, William of Warelwast arrived with the answer of the King to the Pope's letter. The King could not understand, why the Pope had applied for the restoration of Anselm; for he had been previously informed, that he would lose his Archbishoprick if he departed from the kingdom. "And has the King nothing more against the Archbishop?" asked Urban. "Nothing." "Now truly it has never yet occurred to the mind of man, that a king should abide by an unjust threat, to rob the Primate of his kingdom of his goods, for applying to the mother church of Christendom! and for the sake of such an answer, hast thou travelled hither? Go, hasten back and tell thy master, I command him in the name of St. Peter, fully to reinstate the Archbishop, or the excommunication follows. Before the third week after Easter, when a council will be held in this city, he shall make known to me his will; otherwise, at the same council he will be excommunicated." But William was not thus to be terrified, and requested a private audience of the Pope. Before his departure, and during the intervening time he was able with money and fair words to gain so many friends, that the Pope allowed himself to be prevailed upon to postpone the final decision until Michaelmas, 1099.⁽¹⁾ This occurred at

(1.) Collier, II. 95, says, Malmesbury enlarges with more freedom upon the Pope's prevarication. He tells us the Pope was under some difficulty and

Christmas, 1098. "When we now saw" Eadmer continues, "that we in vain waited for assistance in Rome, we were anxious to set out on our return to Lyons, But the Pope desired Anselm to remain with him until the approaching council, and exerted every effort to honour his guest, for he not only frequently visited him and formally paid court to him (*curiam faciebat*) but also appropriated the dwelling in which he had first received him, for his especial use, with the right of taking possession of it every time he came to Rome. In the assemblies of the nobility, processions, stations, &c. Anselm was always the second after the Pope, although those honours were often forced upon him. When *e.g.* the English came to Rome and wished to pay their reverence by kissing his feet as well as the Pope's, he fled into his innermost apartment and would not come out until they had promised to abstain from this mark of respect. Yet he had his enemies in Rome, for a great part of the city still adhered to the Emperor. Once on his way from the Lateran to St. Peter's they wished to seize him and his suite: but on a look from him, they cast away their weapons, fell down and begged his blessing. In the whole city he was familiarly called 'the holy man': even we, who were with him, enjoyed on his account the respect and love of all." On the Sunday, April 24th, 1099, the council at length was opened. One hundred and twenty Bishops and Abbots from Italy and France attended. There was

irresolution about the matter: that his regard for Anselm kept him tight at first, and that for some time he hung in suspense between conscience and interest, but was at last overbalanced by the consideration of a good present.

some embarrassment about a place for Anselm, for no one remembered to have seen an Archbishop of Canterbury at a Roman Council. The Pope therefore ordered a seat to be placed in the middle of the circle formed by the assembly, which was no inconsiderable honor. Several matters of importance were settled at this Council. But the chief business was the composition, or rather the republication of a string of resolutions against Simony, Priestly immorality, and lay patronage. On Saturday, (30th) these resolutions were to be proclaimed, and as the assembly was held in St. Peter's, where a multitude of people were continually going in and out and causing much noise, the Pope ordered Reinger, Bishop of Lucca, who had a powerful voice, to mount an elevated place in the midst and read aloud the Canons. But he had scarcely commenced, when he suddenly paused, changed his voice and manner, and whilst he cast a look of indignation around him, broke forth into these words, "But why do we consult about instructions to our Clergy, and venture not upon coercive measures against those, who oppress our Churches and plunder our spiritual brethren? Every day complaints on this subject reach the Holy Chair: shall assistance never follow? We have here a Prelate before us, in meek and humble silence, but whose silence cries aloud, and accuses us that we have yet done nothing for him. He has come here from the end of the world to seek for aid from the Romish See, and two years will shortly have elapsed, without his having found it. If you are ignorant whom I mean, it is Anselm, Archbishop of England." On these words he struck his crosier three

times on the ground, and bit his lips from anger. "Calm yourself Brother Reinger," said the Pope, "we will soon provide council." "Now truly, it is time," he replied, "Think on the divine judgment." Upon this he recovered himself, and proclaimed the remainder of the Resolutions of the Council, yet at the conclusion he once more recommended the case of Anselm to the assembly. The whole proceeding was in the highest degree painful to the latter: he therefore spake not a word, but sat dumb as before.⁽¹⁾ Yet the occurrence had made an impression on the Pope, so that at the termination of the Council he published anew the Anathema, against all Laymen who laid claim to the right of investiture, as well as upon all the Clergy who received lay investiture and ordained those who had done so. The Anathema also extended to all those especially, who were feodaries of Laymen for the sake of appointments in the Church..

On the following day Anselm left Rome, and after many difficulties and dangers arrived at Lyons, where Hugo again afforded him the most friendly reception, and regarded him not as a guest and a stranger, but as a son of the house, or rather as master of the house. For he gave him the precedence in all things and esteemed himself only as a suffragan Bishop of Anselm. He allowed him to perform episcopal duties when and where he wished, and was not only frequently seen leading the divine services, but presiding at ordinations, consecrations of Churches, and other official duties. He was

(1.) *Sedebat ergo uti solebat, silenter auscultans.* Ead. H. N., 55.

most frequently engaged in confirmations, which swarms of people flocked to Lyons to receive from him. He was some times thus occupied for days together, "so that we who administered, were heartily wearied with the service, whilst he continued in the most joyful temper from the beginning to the end." That he refused spiritual consolation to no one, that he edified, instructed, improved people of every age, sex, and condition who came to him, need not be mentioned. He also took a part in affairs of ecclesiastical government—*e. g.* in the following year 1100, he attended the Synod of Anse, at which the cause of the Crusades was discussed, and Hugo resigned his Legation in Burgundy, in order to be able to set out for the Holy Land which design he executed in (1101.) Although Anselm was thus actively employed at Lyons, yet he found sufficient leisure for his theological labours. He composed here his treatises, "*de conceptu virginali et de peccato originali*," as well as one of his most beautiful meditations, "*de redemptione humanâ*."⁽¹⁾

In the meanwhile Urban died, 29th July 1099, before the expiration of the period which he assigned for the decision of King William, and was succeeded by Cardinal Rainer under the title of Paschal II. When the tidings was brought to England in October the King exclaimed "whether the old one is dead or not, it is all one to me. (*Dei odium habeat, qui inde curat*) but the new one, what kind of a man is he?" When they told him that in many respects he resembled Anselm, he

(1.) Med. XI.

continued, "then 'per vultum dei,' he is worth nothing. But let him be what he will his popedom shall not be burdensome to me: I am glad that I am free, and will not again allow my freedom to be taken from me." Nevertheless, he attempted to commence a negotiation with Anselm on the vacancy of the Roman See, and for this end, sent a message to Lyons: but the terms which he offered were of that kind, that Hugo immediately declared to the messenger, that he must bring with him fresh instructions, before the treaty could come into conversation. The messenger, indeed, promised a speedy return: but the King now allowed the matter to drop. This appears from the letter which Anselm wrote to congratulate the Pope on his accession. For he alleges as a reason for sending it so late, the negotiation which had commenced, and the issue of which he waited for, before he wrote. He explains his quarrel with the King nearly in the same words which he had made use of to Urban, and concludes as follows: ⁽¹⁾—"This is the third year since my departure from England; the little money which I brought with me, and the larger sums which I borrowed and am in debt for, are consumed: the kindness of the Archbishop of Lyons alone, now supports me, I do not write this, as if I sighed to return to England, but only to make you acquainted with my present circumstances: I intreat, yea, rather I conjure you to constrain me to return to England on no other condition, than that I may freely conform to the will of God and the Laws of the Church,

(1.) Ep. III. 40.

above every human will and every human law, and that the King restore to me the property of the Church. For otherwise I should establish a maxim, that men should be obeyed rather than God, and that robbery was right. I may perhaps be asked, why I do not excommunicate the King: but intelligent men are against it, because it does not seem consistent, to be accuser and judge in one person, and besides, I know from my friends in England, that the King would only laugh at my excommunication. Your wisdom requires not my advice in this affair. I only pray to God, that he would guide your steps according to his good pleasure, and that the Church may for a long time enjoy your superintendence, Amen."

CHAPTER THE TENTH.

ANSELM'S RETURN. THE INVESTITURE- CONTROVERSY.⁽¹⁾

The third year of Anselm's exile had not expired when he accepted an invitation to the Casa Dei, in the vicinity of Lyons. During his residence there, two monks arrived with the intelligence of the death of William Rufus. When Anselm received the tidings, he remained for some moments as it were, petrified: then he burst into a flood of tears, to the astonishment of his companions in exile, who already began to triumph, and said, "he would rather that God had taken himself out of the world, than that he should have met with such an untimely end: for he always cherished the hope, that God would listen to his prayer, and change the mind of the King towards him." He at once went back to Lyons, and soon after a monk from Canterbury

(1.) Hist. Nov. 111., 57.

arrived with letters, which confirmed the news, and in the name of the Mother Church of the kingdom required his immediate return. By the advice of Hugo he at once set out on his journey, to the general regret of the See, the inhabitants of which of both sexes, accompanied him for several days, from village to village, and could scarcely be separated from him. He had not yet arrived at Clugny, when a third messenger came and brought a letter from the new King, Henry I. who had been crowned at Westminster by Maurice, Bishop of London. He had also published a proclamation throughout the kingdom, that he would abolish all the abuses and enormities of the former reign, and with the advice of his Barons enforce the "Laws of King Edward," as altered by his father, but above all things, he declared his wish to restore freedom to the Holy Church of God, and never to keep spiritual offices vacant to his own advantage. Together with the proclamation, an order had been issued to arrest the man whose oppressions had been especially notorious, Ranulph Flambard, now Bishop of Durham, "who was committed to the charge of William de Manneville, in the Tower of London."⁽¹⁾ Hereupon the King wrote to Anselm, and apologized that he had not waited to be crowned by him, and requested him to return to England as soon as possible, since he wished "to entrust himself entirely to his counsel."⁽²⁾ Anselm now hastened his

(1) Lappenberg, 217. "His sewer contrived to convey a long rope in a cask of wine to him, with which he escaped from the Tower, and went over to Normandy." See Ans. Ep. IV., 22, for his character.

(2) Ansel. Ep. III. 41. Meipsum quidem et totius regni Angliæ populum, tuo eorumque consiliis, qui tecum mihi consulere debent, committo,

journey, and landed at Dover amidst the joyful acclamations of the whole population, Sept. 23.

Yet the joy was not of long duration. Anselm had altogether attained what he considered as the previous condition for his further efficiency in the Church of England, the restoration of the alliance with the universal Church, and its centre the See of Rome. But his actual aim was the freedom of the Church, the removal of every oppressive dependance on worldly power, into which it had fallen. If this aim had been continually before his eyes, it had now in some measure become a personal duty, by the decrees of the two Councils which he had attended in Italy. He felt, as he frequently declared, under a conscientious obligation to carry out the resolutions of these Councils which he had advocated and approved. And so much the more, since the Authority of the Church of England was now acknowledged, and the new King had the greatest interest in securing its friendship. He therefore did not delay to bring forward his aims on the first opportunity, for when a few days after his return, he paid his respects to the King at Sherburn, (Salisbury) and the latter caused him to be reminded that he should take the "customary" oath of Allegiance, and receive the Archbishoprick from his hand, he appealed to the resolutions of the Councils, which prevented his compliance and declared that he must make the acknowledgment of these resolutions, as

Henry thus concludes his letter:—"Lando ergo et mando, ne per Normanniam venias, sed per Guitsand; et ego Doveram obviam habebo tibi Barones meos, et pecuniam ad te recipiendum; et invenies, Deo juvante, unde bene persolvere poteris quicquid mutuo accepisti."

the condition of his restoration to his office. "If not, I do not see of what use my residence in England can be, if every time the King appoints to Bishopricks and Abbeys, I must avoid all communication with him, as well as with the persons appointed by him. For I am not returned to England in order once more to see the authority of the Church despised. I also request the King to give me his opinion on this subject, that I may know where I am." The King was greatly confounded at this demand. On the one hand, he was unwilling to give up the Investiture and the oath of Allegiance, because he considered that with them he surrendered the half of his kingdom; the Nobles also, and even the Bishops found the claim of Anselm so exorbitant, "that they would never give their consent to it, but rather proceed to extreme measures, even to a second banishment of Anselm and the renunciation of the Papal Authority."⁽¹⁾ On the other hand, the King was unwilling to be deprived of the support of Anselm, whilst he feared that he might countenance the party of his brother Robert, who just at that time had returned from the Holy Land, and laid claim to the Crown of England. He therefore requested a respite until Easter, during which interval, an embassy should be sent to Rome, in order if possible to induce the Pope to change those resolutions, "in consideration of the antient custom of the country." Anselm indeed was already

(1.) An. Ep. IV. 4, Quod audientes Rex et principes ejus, ipsi etiam Episcopi et alii minoris ordinis, tam graviter acceperunt ut assererent, se nullo modo huic rei assensum præbituros: et me de regno, potius quam hoc servarent, expulsuros, et a Romana ecclesia se discessuros.

convinced of the uselessness of this step; but he acceded to it, that he might lull all suspicions in the mind of the King and the Nobles, as to the sincerity of his intentions. William of Warelwast was also entrusted with this mission, and Anselm sent a letter by him, in which he informed Paschal II., of the state of the existing controversy, and requested his decision on this and other⁽¹⁾ circumstances connected with it. In the mean while, he was reinstated into all the property and privileges which the Church of Canterbury had enjoyed since the time of William I.

If Henry I. had satisfied the Norman Barons by the "Charta," he also gained the affections of his Anglo-Saxon subjects by the resolution to form a matrimonial alliance with a daughter of the Scottish King Malcolm III., Canmore, and the pious Margaret, a descendant of King Edmund Ironside, brother of Edward the Confessor, and thus in some measure to restore the old Royal Family to the Throne. But Matilda, such was the name of the Princess, had been brought up in a Convent, with her Aunt Christiana, a Nun, at Wilton (in the Diocese of Salisbury) and many had seen the Princess wear the veil. She was therefore considered, although she had for a long time left the cloister, as an "oblata" (consecrated by her parents to the service of the Lord), and great offence was taken at the proposed marriage with the King.⁽²⁾ In order to accomplish this,

(1.) He wanted instructions regarding the Diocese of Durham, and Ranulf Flambard. An. Ep. III. 45. IV. 2.

(2.) An. Ep. III. 52.

the opinion of Anselm was required, and he had thus an opportunity of conferring a great favor on the King. He was far removed, "from withdrawing a Bride from the Lord, to give her to a worldly Husband," but when Matilda assured him, that her Aunt had only thrown the veil over her "to protect her from the importunities of the Normans," and that her father was so far from wishing to devote her to a Convent life, that he had been anxious to betroth her to the Count Alain (Fergant, one of the Britons who accompanied the Conqueror to England and was subsequently Duke of Bretagne): when two Archdeacons whom Anselm had sent to Wilton to investigate the case confirmed her statement, and when an Assembly of Bishops, Abbots, and Nobles, which he had convoked at Lambeth had unanimously pronounced the Princess free, and a similar conclusion had been arrived at in a like case at a General Council, under Lanfranc; then Anselm had no hesitation in marrying the Royal Pair at Martinmas, 10th Nov. 1100, and crowning Matilda at Westminster, after he had invited every one present who opposed the marriage to state their objections. Notwithstanding, these precautions, persons were not wanting, who charged Anselm with too great submissiveness to the King. "But," Eadmer says, "we who can truly say that we know his disposition, hereby testify, and we have heard him testify, that at that time he acted according to the best judgment of his conscience, and in fact, could not have decided otherwise."

In the following year Anselm gave the most distinct proof of his integrity towards the King. At the instiga-

tion of Ranulph Flambard and other mal-contents, Duke Robert had resolved to assert his claim to the English Crown with the sword. This intelligence caused the greatest alarm in England. The Norman Nobles were much disposed to revolt with him: for Henry ruled with strict discipline, whilst Robert's disposition was mild and good natured. Henry must be upon his guard, and at the Court day, at Whitsuntide required a new oath of Allegiance from his Peers, who also demanded fresh securities for their rights and privileges. Anselm acted as mediator: the King placed in his hands the declaration to rule with justice and mercy, whilst the Peers, through Anselm, renewed their homage and promised the King a plentiful supply of troops. A considerable army assembled in the neighbourhood of Hastings, and Anselm led the men of Kent, whom the King had chosen for his body guard. Nevertheless, the Nobles were again fluctuating, when it was reported that Robert (20th July) had embarked at Tréport for Portsmouth. In fact the mariners who had been sent out to watch the coast went over to him, and as he advanced towards Winchester, he found more supporters. At this critical period Anselm was almost the only one on whom Henry could rely, for he not only trembled for his throne, but also for his life. He therefore now attached himself in the closest degree to Anselm, requested him to use his influence with different persons, derived courage from him and sacredly promised in future to conform to the authority of the Church, and willingly obey the Apostolical See in all matters. Anselm exerted every effort to keep the Peers true to

their Allegiance : and although he could accuse no one individually of treachery, but only suspected their general instability, he assembled them in front of the whole army, and in a public address, yet without appearing as an accuser, he explained with such alarming eloquence the heinousness of the guilt of infidelity before God and man, that they all vowed to support the King through life and death. He, in fact, restored obedience in the army, and when Robert with a knightly feeling of delicacy peculiar to that age, although at the hazard of the royal crown, refused to take possession of Winchester, in order not to endanger the life of his sister-in-law, Henry's wife, who waited there for her confinement,⁽¹⁾ the leaders on both sides agreed to a truce, and soon afterwards to a compact ; according to which Robert in return for the surrender of the possessions of Henry, in Normandy and the yearly payment of 3,000 marks, silver, (which yet, the first year he sent as a present to his sister-in-law) released his brother the King from the oath which he had formerly given him regarding the English crown. According to Eadmer, this treaty was facilitated, partly by the failure of revolt in the English Nobility, on which Robert placed great reliance, and partly from fear of being excommunicated by Anselm as an usurper. Yet it is very questionable whether Anselm would have proceeded to such an extreme measure ; for he had at that time received a letter from the Pope, in

(1.)

Et il dist, ke vilain sereit,
Ki Dame en gesine assaldreit.

Roman de Rou. V. 45452. Lappenberg, s. 230.

which he earnestly requested him to reconcile the two brothers. "For" he adds "thou knowest our great obligations to the Duke for the pains and dangers which he hath undergone for the liberation of the Church in Asia."

In the meantime, William of Warelwast had arrived from Rome. He had not been able to return according to the original agreement at Easter, because Henry had delayed the embassy as long as possible. It was then agreed upon, at the Court day at Easter, to extend the period of the truce until his arrival. The Papal Epistle⁽¹⁾ which he had brought, was couched in the most friendly terms, but it entirely refused the King the right of investiture. Henry was in no way influenced by it. As soon as the danger was over he thought no more of the promises which he had given during its continuance. He was rather induced by his brother who had now resided with him some months, and was naturally much offended with Anselm, as well as by the Peers of his faction, to try the effect of threats upon Anselm. He was summoned to the Court, and the choice proposed to him, either to take the oath of allegiance, and bind himself by a promise, to consecrate the Abbots and Bishops nominated by the King, or at once to depart from the kingdom. Anselm in vain appealed once more to the decree of the Romish council in the year 1099. "I myself" says he "have brought this decree into this kingdom; your embassy hath not been able to change it: Must I now first make myself

(1.) See Ead. H. N. 59.

responsible for the excommunication which it threatens ? Neither mine honour, nor my conscience allow this. And is it right to advise me to something by which I should violate both.?" Yet the King insisted on his requisition. "I will never give up the right of my Ancestors, and I will never endure any one in my kingdom who will not be my feodary." Anselm replied that he was placed in the greatest embarrassment ; yet he would not willingly leave his Church, but wait until violent measures should be adopted against him.⁽¹⁾ An agreement was not to be thought of, since the Nobles and the Bishops as before, supported the King and now urged him never to submit to the Pope. Therefore Anselm hastily left the Court in order to remain in Canterbury till further measures should be adopted.

But not long afterwards he received a friendly letter from the King, in which he promised him full security and invited him once more to the Court, to enquire into some other means of terminating the controversy. He immediately proceeded to Winchester, where the Barons and the Bishops had again assembled. A repetition of the embassy to Rome was the remedy at last agreed upon. More distinguished persons than before were chosen for this end, and Anselm, as well as the King, were to communicate with the Pope. Representation was to be made to him that he must either rescind his resolution or be

(1.) Collier remarks, "But here Anselm exceeded the moderation of St. Cyprian : for this holy Bishop submitted to banishment at the Emperor's order, and refused to return without his leave. But in excuse of this incomppliance, it may be said, that probably the Archbishop did not believe the Kings of England so absolute, as the Roman Emperors." *Ec.H.*, v. ii. p. 111.

prepared for the expulsion of Anselm, the renunciation of obedience towards himself, and the suspension of the yearly income which he drew from England. Until then, both parties were to maintain peace. On his part, Anselm chose as Ambassadors two monks, the above mentioned Baldwin, (of Tournay), and Alexander from Bec. He commanded them to confine themselves to a simple statement of the case, and not in any way attempt to mitigate, in his favor, the severity of the Papal sentence; they were rather to communicate to the Pope the threats of the English Court, and then hear what he would reply. On the part of the King, three Bishops were appointed, Gerard of Hereford, who had been designated to the See of York, Herbert of Thetford, (Norwich) and Robert of Chester (Lichfield). The two former had besides, some private transactions to settle at Rome, Gerhard the attainment of the Pallium, Herbert, the restitution of his Episcopal jurisdiction over the Abbey of St. Edmund, which had been exempted from it under Alexander II. (1071). Herbert experienced on his journey how highly Anselm was respected on the continent, for when he once separated himself from his companions in Burgundy, and alone entered the district of Lyons, he fell into the hands of a powerful knight named Guido, who would not release him until he had taken an oath, that he would do nothing in Rome against Anselm. He must also purchase a safe conduct from the knight, with 40 marks, silver, which he had brought with him for prosecuting his suit against the Abbey. The Pope was not a little astonished when he heard of the arrival of the embassy. "Shall I," says

he "for the sake of the threatenings of one man, give up the resolutions and ordinances of the Fathers? Rather will I lose my head." On the 15th April, 1102, he caused two epistles to be indited, the one to the King, the other to Anselm. The former in the first place "commended the King, that he had not trod in the footsteps of his brother, but rather had begun to restore to the Church her freedom, to the Clergy their dignity: it then expressed the hope that he would continue in this course and not suffer himself to be misled by the evil counsel of those who flattered the King with the supposed right of investiture, to offend against him, by whom Kings reign, Prov. viii. 15. For by the power of the Holy Ghost we must in every respect deny this right to Kings and Princes, as well as to all Laymen, since it is unseemly, that the mother should be regarded as a maid by her children, and be betrothed to a husband whom she hath not chosen. She hath already her husband—our King and Lord, through whose mercy may you be supported on the throne, and at some time be transplanted from this earthly into a heavenly kingdom." But the Pope exhorted Anselm not to suffer himself to be led astray from his present course of action. The Ambassadors returned with these letters to England a little before Michaelmas, 1102, and the King at once called a council in London. But instead of departing from his requisition on Anselm, he only repeated with the former severity, that Anselm must either conform to the laws of the country, or leave it. Anselm naturally desired to see the Papal letter, since he was resolved to obey that alone. Yet this was refused by the

King. "If he wishes, he may produce that which he has received; mine he shall never behold." The Pope had given the letter addressed to Anselm to the royal Ambassadors; but to the Ambassadors of Anselm, one merely relating to some ecclesiastical questions which he had placed before him. "I see," said Anselm, "The King will shew me the letter at some other time." The King replied, "we are not treating of the letter, the question is, whether the Archbishop without circumlocution will obey or not." Yet the contents of the epistle were in a short time made known, for the King easily perceived what prejudice was awakened against him by secreting it. For several loudly declared, that he would assuredly publish it, even against the will of Anselm, if the contents were unfavorable to him. Anselm also produced an earlier letter from the Pope (12th December 1101) exactly of the same tenor: for there also, Paschal testified his perfect agreement with the resolutions of his predecessor, against Lay-investiture; which as Anselm would know were not first adopted at Rome, but previously at Bari, where he (the Pope) and Anselm had been present. But now the Ambassadors of the King declared, that the Pope had spoken to them in language of a very different tendency from that contained in the writing in the King's hands. They asserted on their Episcopal word, that the Pope had entrusted them to tell the King, that so long as he conducted himself in other respects as a pious ruler, the forgiveness of the Church should be imparted to him and that he might be free from anxiety about excommunication, if he only bestowed the crosier on pious persons. But the Pope

had been unwilling to communicate this concession in writing, in order that other Princes might not claim the same privilege. A violent commotion followed, when Baldwin, (*sicut erat spiritu fervens et boni amans*) expressly accused the Bishops of falsehood against the Pope. The peers knew not which to believe, the written documents and the declarations of the monks, or the assertions of the Bishops. Some thought that a sheepskin, blackened with ink, and loaded with a lump of lead, could not give the decision; nor was a poor monk, who had once renounced the world, in a condition to offer a valid testimony in worldly affairs. "But this is no worldly affair," Baldwin cries out. "Well then: but who is more worthy of credit, two Bishops and one Archbishop (Gerhard) or thou?" "Yet the original documents?" asked Baldwin. "Aye, of what value is a sheepskin to us?" "Oho!" cried out the assembled monks, who were present, "are not then the Gospels written on sheepskins?" Anselm was in a painful embarrassment: for however fully convinced he might be, that the Pope could not have so contradicted himself, yet on the other hand, he was not willing to commit such an offence, as openly to accuse the Bishops of a lie.⁽¹⁾ The King was now more violent in his demands, that Anselm should take the oath of allegiance, and promise in future, to consecrate the Bishops nominated by him. Yet Anselm thought this could only with justice be required from him, when the oral agreed with the written testimony. Thus the controversy was anything but settled. There-

(1.) See Ans. Ep. to Gerhard. III. 60. and IV. 15.

fore no hasty steps were to be taken, but the Pope must once more be asked for a clear explanation of his meaning. The Bishops were to be prepared for an appeal to him: and then the council resolved, that in the mean while, the King on his own responsibility, might exercise the right of investiture which he claimed. Yet Anselm should not be bound to consecrate those invested, but on the other hand, until the decision of the Pope, he should neither regard the author of the investiture, nor the invested, as excommunicated, *i. e.* should not deprive them of Church communion. The King at once invested two of his Chaplains, viz. the Chancellor, Roger, with the Bishoprick of Sherburn (Salisbury,) and another Roger, who was his Larderarius (house-steward) with the see of Hereford.⁽¹⁾ Anselm now wrote to the Pope, to ask him for his decision once more. "I dare not" says he, "mistrust your letters, nor the assertion of the Bishops, which rests upon your word: for the sword of disobedience threatens me on both sides. I embrace your knees in spirit, and pray for compassion with my distressed conscience; I would invoke whatever there is of love, of piety in Rome, to relieve me from this pain. I fear not exile, nor poverty, nor martyrdom, nor death: my heart is prepared for all, and God will strengthen me, when obedience towards Rome, and the freedom of the Church are at stake: only I will have certainty, that I may know, know beyond all doubt on what I must rely."

(1.) Salisbury became vacant by the death of Osmund, (3rd Dec., 1099) Hereford, by the promotion of Gerhard to York.

At that Council, Anselm had the satisfaction to obtain from the King, what he had so often in vain applied for to William Rufus, permission to hold a synod, for the introduction of a reformation of discipline. At this synod, simony was prohibited and no less than six Abbots were deposed on this account, amongst whom three who were nominated by the present King had not yet been consecrated. The three others were deposed, because they had been forced upon their monasteries by the power of the King. It was a great thing, that Henry should be satisfied with this: yet he insisted the more urgently on his right to the nomination of Bishops, and in this respect paid no regard to the terms of the agreement, that Anselm should not be bound to consecrate those invested by him. He had not long been returned to Canterbury, when he received from the newly elected Bishop, Roger of Hereford, who since his investiture, had been detained in London by a dangerous illness, a letter, in which he requested, that before his death, he would allow him to be consecrated by the Bishops of London and Rochester:—a request that appeared so inconsistent to Anselm, that it only drew from him a smile of compassion. Roger in fact died, and the King at once nominated in his stead, Reinhelm, the Chancellor of the Queen. But not content with the investiture, he also required, that Anselm should consecrate both him, and Roger of Salisbury, as well as William (Giffard,) who had been designated Bishop of Winchester, two years before: with regard to the latter, Anselm was gladly prepared. This William, on the coronation day of the King, and before Anselm's return

and the publication of the resolutions of the Council, had been nominated Bishop of Winchester, but upon this mere nomination, had been unwilling to enter upon his office, and had expressly refused to receive the crosier from the hands of the King. In the mean time, after Anselm's return, the clergy and people of Winchester petitioned him to confer this on the Bishop, and he had actually, with the connivance of the King, introduced the Bishop elect into the Cathedral, and delivered him the crosier. He was very willing also to consecrate him;⁽¹⁾ but with regard to the two others, he appealed to the terms of the agreement: yet the King required that one should not receive consecration without both the others: and when this was decidedly refused by Anselm, he proposed to Gerhard, Archbishop of York, to consecrate the three Bishops. Upon this, Reinhelm became scrupulous,⁽²⁾ and brought back to the King, the ring and crosier, at the same time, he expressed his regret for having received them from his hands; upon which, Henry at once expelled him from the court.⁽³⁾ Gerhard should now at least consecrate the two remaining, William of Winchester, and Roger of Salisbury, with the united aid of the rest of the English Bishops. The day and place, (St. Paul's, London) had been already appointed, whilst Anselm waited the issue

(1.) Ans. Ep. IV. 7.

(2.) Sciens quia maledictionem pro benedictione susciperet, si tali ordine benedicendus se manibus Gerardi summitteret. Ead. V. N. 64.

(3.) See Ans. Ep. III. 104. Fortiter egisti, quando episcopatum, in quem non secundum Deum invitus intrusus es, pro veritate rejecisti.

in the vicinity, at Mortelach,⁽¹⁾ and the Bishops were in the act of proceeding with the examination, previous to the consecration, when William suddenly declared, that he would rather forfeit his appointment and emoluments than submit to such a desecration, and a tumult was hereupon raised in the Church, which interrupted the solemnity: for the people loudly applauded "the brave man," whilst they abused the Bishops for not being Bishops, but traitors of righteousness. The latter then applied to the King, who cited William before his tribunal. But no threats induced him to waver. He was deposed and banished from the country. All representations and entreaties of Anselm were not listened to.

About mid-lent of the year 1103, the messengers came back, which Anselm had sent to Rome, in order to ascertain the truth of the report brought by the King's ambassadors in the previous year. And at this time, the King came to Canterbury for three days, having some business to transact with the Count of Flanders, at Dover. The return of Anselm's messengers was at once communicated to him. He immediately called one of them to him secretly, and asked him what the Pope had replied. The Pope, he said, held by his written answer in every respect, and had sent by them a second letter to Anselm, as far as they knew, confirmatory of the former.

(1.) Probably he wrote from hence, Ep. IV. 18, to Hugo, A. of Lyons, In reply to Ep. III. 64., he thus alludes to his situation.—*Tota enim me vis Angliæ, cum solus ibi sim, molitur subvertere; quia me ab obedientia Sedis Apostolicæ non valet avertere; ad quod etiam ipsi Episcopi, cum Rege sic æstuant ut etiam consecrationes quæ non nisi ad me pertinent, si sit qui velit accipere, ipsi præsumere non metuant.*

It was of no avail for Anselm to prove the impossibility of being released from a duty, imposed upon him by the Pope, except by the Pope himself. The King became continually more violent: there was a general alarm lest he should make an attack upon the person of Anselm, and prayers were offered up in the Churches for his preservation. Even the Peers who accompanied the King were affected, and urged him yet once more to seek a method of reconciliation. Henry so far gave way, as to enquire of Anselm whether perhaps he might not be prevailed upon to go to Rome, and obtain for him from the Pope, what others had not yet been able to accomplish, namely, that he should not be deprived of a right which he had inherited from his forefathers. Anselm easily perceived that this was a gentle way of getting rid of him, yet declared his willingness to go, if it was the wish of the whole kingdom. It was agreed upon to bring the matter before the next council.—This was held at Easter, and the Bishops and Barons coincided, that Anselm ought not to shun the difficulties of the journey, on which such important results depended. “Gladly will I comply with your wishes, although old and infirm.⁽¹⁾ But I must freely declare before-hand, that I will not advise the Pope to any thing incompatible with the freedom of the Church and my honor.” “Well then” they replied, “content yourself with stating the facts of the case; the King on his part may send an ambassador, who will acquaint him with the wishes of the kingdom.”

(1.) He was now seventy years old.

Anselm now made every possible preparation for the journey, because as he had collected from the messengers, he could not but conjecture, that the Papal letter which he must now open, since the King would not, contained a confirmation of the former sentence of excommunication against persons with whom he could not renounce communion without the greatest offence. For in the mean time, besides the two Investitures mentioned above, several more had taken place, by the King having given away some Abbeys; and Robert of Lincoln and John of Bath had been misled to consecrate the newly invested Abbots. In order to leave the kingdom in peace, he only tarried four days after his return from Court, and at once set out on his journey, under the conduct of his monks and almost the whole population of Canterbury and its neighbourhood. On the 27th of April, 1103, he embarked at Dover. Eadmer, Baldwin, Alexander and several others accompanied him. From Witsand, since the way through Normandy was now open to him, he went to Boulogne, and from thence to Bec, where he was received with unbounded joy. Here he first opened the Papal letter: for as long as it was possible for the King to do this, he had kept the seal unbroken. It was dated from Beneventum, December 12th, 1102, and formally accused the Bishops of a lie, for reporting a verbal answer from the Pope entirely at variance with his written letter. Paschal writes thus; ⁽¹⁾“ I call him to witness who proveth the hearts

(1.) Ans. Ep., III. 74. “I must confess that I cannot agree with Lappenberg in accusing the Pope ‘of duplicity,’ from this passage, p. 251.

and the reins, whether I had ever even a thought of anything so horrible as they impute to me, and God preserve us from uttering with the mouth what was not conceived in the heart. They are the Priests whom the Lord hath appointed to be watchmen unto the house of Israel. Ezekiel III. 17. If the hands of laymen deliver the crosier which is the sign of the pastoral office, and the ring which is the token of truth; what shall the Primates do in the Church? The honor of the Church is violated, the power of discipline broken, and religion overthrown, if we endure the rashness of laymen to usurp what alone belongs to the priests. Uzziah was smitten with leprosy when he presumed to undertake the priestly office in the Temple, (II Chron. XXVI.) and the fire from the Lord consumed the sons of Aaron who offered strange fire on the altar. (Levit. X.) But it is a strange election which proceeds from worldly princes and rulers, and therefore the seventh œcumenical synod has expressly ordained, that princes and great men shall not interfere in the election of Bishops. If then the sons of Aaron who brought strange fire on the altar suffered bodily punishment, so shall those clergy who force themselves into the church through strange, *i. e.* lay-election, be

On the other hand it is rather against the Bishops, (that as appears from Ep. III. 60., IV. 15.) Gerhard complains to Anselm on the publication of the Papal letter. Yet since Anselm as well in these letters, as in one addressed from Bec after the opening of the Papal letter, is unwilling to accuse the Bishops of falsehood, Ep. III. 85., or form any definite judgment, I hesitate to do so, and would rather impute the 'scandalum' to a misunderstanding, than to an intentional perversion of an unguarded expression of the Pope's.¹¹ Hasse.

smitten with the spiritual sword." The Pope then pronounces excommunication, as well against those Bishops who had perverted the truth into a lie, as also against those who in consequence of this lie had received investiture and consecration, and lastly against those who consecrated them.

From Bec, Anselm went about Whitsuntide to Chartres, in order to proceed on his journey from thence after the festival. But the Bishop of Chartres, the well known Ivo (1092-1115) as well as the Countess Adele de Blois⁽¹⁾ (and Chartres) Anselm's old supporter, who received him with the most hearty welcome, persuaded him to let the summer pass over, which this year threatened to be excessively hot; and the roads were already unsafe.⁽²⁾ In the mean time, Anselm thought it not impossible that the King might change his mind,⁽³⁾ and followed their advice, yet would not be induced by any entreaties of the Countess to remain in Chartres, but returned to his beloved Bec, where he tarried till the middle of August, to the great edification of the monks. From the letters which he wrote about this time to England it is clear that he was for a long time irresolute⁽⁴⁾ whether he should give up the journey altogether and send a messenger in his stead to Rome; for the King appeared more friendly towards him, and hopes were entertained at Canterbury

(1.) Daughter of William the Conqueror, and widow of Stephen, Count de Blois.

(2.) An. Ep. III. 76.—IV. 29.

(3.) An. Ep. III. 85.—IV. 32.

(4.) An. Ep. III. 85.

that he would soon return to them.⁽¹⁾ The King even wrote to him a letter and acquainted him with the successful issue of an undertaking which he had been engaged in, and required him to rejoice with ⁽²⁾him. But at the same time without consulting Anselm he exacted gold from the monks at Canterbury, and Anselm made remonstrances thereon through Gondulf. At length he resolved to undertake the journey to Rome, and left Bec about the middle of August. At Maurienne he received another letter from the ⁽³⁾King, who probably had heard of Anselm's earlier plans from Gondulf, and in which he recommends him out of regard to his health to give up the journey and carry on the communication with the Pope by letter. But Anselm was already too far advanced, and besides, whilst in Bec, he had received a letter⁽⁴⁾ from the Pope, in which he expresses the greatest anxiety to see him. He therefore continued his journey, and this time arrived in Rome without danger and difficulty, where the Ambassador from the King, William of Warelwast had been some time. The latter ut dilectio et benignitas a me videatur sumere initium, (the King writes) brought with him a rich contribution of Peter's pence, and a letter from his master in which he promised to the Pope "all the honor and all the obedience which your predecessors enjoyed under my father in England :

(1.) Ep. IV. 32.

(2.) Ep. III. 79.

(3.) Ep. III. 86, contains Anselm's answer. At the same time he probably wrote to the Queen, IV. 30.

(4.) Ep. III. 86.

but on condition, that I also may obtain all the rights and dignities which he possessed. For this only your Holiness should know, that with the support of God, as long as I live I will not suffer the rights and privileges of the Crown of England to be diminished. For even if I, which God forbid, should so far degrade myself, my peers and the whole people of England would not submit to it. Therefore, dearest father, take the matter well into consideration, and endeavour to settle it so favourably, that I may not be constrained to break with you against my will."⁽¹⁾ According to the wish of the Pope, Anselm rested two days "with St. Peter." He then removed to the abode in the Lateran which had been assigned to him by Urban II. where he was received by the Pope, who appointed a day on which the business which had brought him to Rome should be discussed. On this day, William of Warelwast stated the case of the King with much eloquence. He explained the constitution of the kingdom, and the liberality of the English King towards Rome; on account of which he merited a higher degree of esteem than other princes. His master therefore would be much displeased if the rights were curtailed which he inherited from his forefathers, and Rome also would thereby suffer. Some Romans now began to express themselves in favour of the King, and as Anselm remained silent, in order not to anticipate the Papal sentence, and as the Pope himself did not immediately

(1.) This remarkable document is given by Brompton in his Chronicle. (In Twysden p. 1. p. 999.) Is this the letter which Anselm, Ep. IV. 70, is unwilling to copy?

return an answer, but silently pondered the affair, William thought that he might proceed with greater boldness and let fall a threat. "Whatever may be concluded, I must openly declare, that the King my master, will in no case be deprived of the right of Investiture, even if it cost him his kingdom." But now Paschal exclaimed, "Well then, I also declare before God, I will never surrender it, even if it cost me my head." William was struck dumb with astonishment. Yet the Romans now had recourse to other arguments; they supported indeed the principle of the Pope, "to make no layman a door to the Church," but advised the composition of such an answer to the King, that neither he nor the other princes who had been exposed to the anger of Rome, might be too much offended. On their representation Paschal conceded to the King some of the⁽¹⁾rights exercised by his father, and still suspended the excommunication, to which in consequence of that decree of the Council he was liable, but entirely refused him the right of Investiture, and left the Prelates who had received investiture from him, or might yet receive it in the decreed ban, until they should give such satisfaction for their transgression as Anselm might determine. The latter had a conference with the Pope on some other ecclesiastical matters, on account of which also he had come to Rome, and then took leave, upon which the Pope "in order that he might not be sent away quite empty," gave him a Bull drawn up in

(1.) Eadmer does not mention what these were.

the Lateran Palace, Novr. 16th, 1103, in which both the Primacy and all her other privileges were anew confirmed to the Church of Canterbury. William of Warelwast remained some time longer, in order as he gave out, to fulfil a vow which he had made, to visit the Tomb of St. Nicholas at Bari, but in reality, if possible, to make terms with the Pope during the absence of Anselm. He did not indeed succeed in this, but he actually accomplished, that the letter to be delivered by him to the King should be expressed in the mildest language.⁽¹⁾ This document represented to the King, that the aim of the Pope could not be to offend him in his honor, but that he rather wished to procure him the approbation of God, and consequently the true honour. "Ask thyself, whether it is seemly or unseemly to thee, that a Bishop, such as Anselm, whom all the world honours, must leave his country on thy account? Examine thyself, dearest son! I beseech thee by the mercy of God, by the love of his only-begotten: recall thy Pastor, recall thy Father! And if, which we do not believe, he should have proceeded too far against thee, as soon as thou shalt have renounced Investiture, we are willing, as far as we can answer before God, to gratify thy wishes. But do not thou insult us by rejecting him from thee. If thou hast understanding, then shalt thou and thy son who, we hear has been born to thee, and received the name of thy excellent father, be in such

(1) Ead. H. N. 67., Rome, 23rd November, 1103. The Pope had also given Anselm letters to the King and Queen, but he hesitated about delivering them after his breaking off all intercourse with William of Warelwast. Ep. IV. 46.

esteem and affection with us, that whosoever offendeth thee or him, shall be dealt with by us, as if he had offended the Roman Church." In conclusion, the Pope requests the King "to send him his answer as soon as possible, but through the mediation of ambassadors on whose information we can both of us depend."

William travelled from Rome with this letter, but by a different road from that of Anselm, who had been requested by Matilda, Margravine of Tuscany⁽¹⁾ to journey through her territory, where she had provided for him the most honorable retinue, and he remained one night at Florence.⁽²⁾ Eadmer writes, "we were not a little surprised on our arrival at Piacenza, to meet with William, and astonished at the rapidity of his flight from Bari. From Piacenza we travelled in company with him as far as Lyons, where Anselm wished to keep the approaching festival of Christmas. But William was in haste, and parted from us at Lyons. On his taking leave of us, he addressed us in the following terms: 'While I hoped that our affair in Rome would have had another issue, I have delayed to make the communication, which the King entrusted me with to you. He wished me to inform you, that if you return to him with the intention of conducting yourself towards him, as your predecessors did towards his predecessors, you will be welcome.' Anselm interrupted him, 'You need not proceed': 'Your insight will conjecture the remainder. I add nothing thereto.'—'Good, I understand you.' Thus they separated."

(1) An. Ep. IV. 37.

(2) Ead. Vit. II. p. 24.

Anselm went into Lyons, where Hugo⁽¹⁾ and the clergy were waiting for him, and at once conducted him to the Cathedral, in order in some measure to re-establish him as head of the Diocese. But William hastened to England, where the King, as soon as he had received his report, seized upon the property of the Archbishoprick, and devoted the income to his treasury, although he entrusted the administration of it to two of the Archbishop's people, to guard against vexations and spoliations (how far this was done Eadmer will not undertake to say).

(1) An. Ep. III. 64. Hugo had invited him to Lyons in the event of a second exile. "ut ad puerum vestrum declinare non dedignemini, et ad domum vestram, quæ vestra fuit, et quæ modo vestra est, et de die in diem, semper melius vestra erit.

CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH.

ANSELM'S SECOND EXILE.

SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTROVERSY.

Shortly after his arrival at Lyons Anselm writes to the King as follows⁽¹⁾:—The Pope has declared that he will not deviate from the ordinances of his predecessors, and commanded me to break off all communion with those who have allowed themselves to be invested with Churches from your hands, and with those who have consecrated them. From the tenor of what William of Warelwast said to me on his departure, I must conclude that I ought not to return to England, whilst in consequence of that decision I cannot maintain the same relation to you, as Lanfranc did to your father, since I can neither take the oath of allegiance to you, nor hold communion

(1) Ead. H. N., 70, and Ep. III. 88. This letter was to be delivered to the King by Gondulf. Ep. IV. 34.

with those who have been invested by you. Therefore I request you to inform me whether, under these circumstances, with full security and freedom, I may or may not, return to the exercise of my duties. In the former case, I am prepared to perform those relations to you, and to your people, according to my best knowledge and ability. In the latter, it is not my fault if the souls entrusted to me, suffer harm." The King answered by a Monk of Canterbury, named Everard, that he could only wish for the return of Anselm under the conditions given to his ⁽¹⁾ambassadors. Yet in a second letter, at least, he expressed his regret that Anselm would not accede to these conditions, and afforded a prospect of the possibility, that a new embassy to the Pope, which he was meditating, might cause a change of things; he promised also to send him as much of the income of the see as he required, and concluded with words expressive of his unwillingness to appropriate it. "For I wish for no one in my kingdom more than you." Anselm replied,⁽²⁾ "That yet with regard to the condition alluded to by the King, he did not see how the relationship between Lanfranc and his father was obligatory on himself, that neither at baptism nor ordination had he bound himself to observe the precedents and ordinances of William the Conqueror or Lanfranc, but above all things, the will of God and the obligations of his office. But if the King wished his return to England he must permit

(1) Ep. III. 94-95.

(2) This letter was delivered to the King by Ernulf, Prior of the Monastery at Canterbury.

him to discharge the duties of his station, and restore the property which he had unjustly taken from him. He could not indeed prevent the King from doing what he wished, but yet he must call his attention to the awful responsibility which he incurred if he should stand accountable hereafter, not only for the royal, but also for the episcopal function: for such would be the case if he hindered the primate of his kingdom in the exercise of his office. The King replied with some acrimony. He declared the argument of Anselm that neither at baptism nor at ordination had he bound himself to the laws of the Conqueror or Lanfranc, to be "as indiscreet, as absurd;" indiscreet in reference to his father and Lanfranc, absurd in regard to the controverted question." Anselm defended himself in a third letter,⁽¹⁾ in which he explained his meaning, that for him as a Christian and a Clergyman, the authority of the Scriptures and the Church, is the highest, and which no other could interfere with. That the objection was not indiscreet, for he had not been willing to express any censure upon his and the King's predecessors (*viros magnæ et religiosæ famæ*); for that at all events in their time, they had been able to effect something, which he, after following the decision of the Pope, was no longer allowed to do. For what the Church ordains still remains firm, and every ordinance of the Church, which shall be published for the good of the cause of Christ, is equivalent with him

(1) This letter is not preserved, but we know its contents from those written by Anselm to the Queen and Gondulf. Ep. IV. 43-44.

to a divine command. Against such an ordinance, a former existing relationship, as between Lanfranc and the Conqueror, merely because it once existed, is no proof, and that as a Christian, and a clergyman, he did not dare to act otherwise, he had proved by the above argument, which therefore seemed to him to be one entirely "rational."

He sent that letter to Gondulf, in order to deliver it to the King, and since the latter had promised a further communication after the next Court-day (probably at Whitsuntide, 1104) Anselm commissioned his friend, to remind the King of his promise, and at the same time to declare, that he could only permit a further respite, if in the mean time he retained the full enjoyment of the income of his See—if not, he must consider himself as unjustly deposed (*dissaisitus*) and therefore adopt his own measures. Nevertheless the King postponed his answer until Michaelmas; once again Anselm, through Gondulf, pressed him as urgently as possible for a definitive explanation—for he would no longer be deprived of his own, otherwise he must be constrained "to adopt that step, which according to God and the counsel of the Church, remained to him as the last measure." But the King still postponed, and the third requisition had a vain result.

During these negotiations which continued for a whole year, Anselm stood in a peculiar relationship to the Queen. She entertained the greatest reverence for him, and exerted every effort to heal the breach between him and her husband. Some Churches remained in her patronage: under his pecuniary embarrassments the

King might have subjected these to the above-mentioned exactions, and the Queen not have prevented him. But Anselm did not fail to send his remonstrance on this subject from Bec, and admonished her to conduct herself as a mother and a patroness, as a benevolent mistress, not only to those Churches, but to all the Churches in England. The Queen at once promised her aid, and expressed the liveliest wish for Anselm's speedy return. In his answer to her he said, that he in whose hands next to God the matter rested, would not allow his return, because in the meantime the opening on the part of William of Warelwast had concluded. Then the Queen wrote to him a most affecting letter, which is a beautiful testimony of her moral tact. For with all her partiality for Anselm, she does not make cause against the King, but rather seeks to overcome the opposition of the former on Scripture grounds, by which she proves her intimate acquaintance with the same. Anselm supports himself, she says, on prescription of the Church : his motto is, "I will not transgress the resolutions of the Antients." "How then," she asks, "dost thou explain, that the Apostle, that chosen instrument, whose whole life hung on the removal of the law, in the midst of his labours, brought offerings into the temple, in order not to give offence to the brethren of the circumcision : that he wished to be accursed from Christ for his brethren according to the flesh?" She reminds him of his duty, to prevent the miserable effects which must result on account of his absence from England, and then continues, "O pious father, moderate this severity, mitigate thy obstinate disposition (if I may say so) and come

and visit thy people, and amongst them, thy servant, who sigheth for thee from her deepest soul. Find out some way by which thou may'st neither offend against thy pastoral duty, nor encroach upon the rights of the royal majesty. And if both these cannot be united, O then instruct thy daughter how she must demean herself in this case—for otherwise I must prepare myself like the Shunamitish woman, lay aside crown and purple, and hasten to thy feet, from which no Gebazi shall thrust me away, (2 Kings, iv. 27) until I have obtained my wish.”⁽¹⁾ The answer of Anselm to this letter is lost, but from the rejoinder of the Queen we see that they had some prospect of the possibility of his return. Upon this she is highly enraptured: this intelligence had fallen like a ray of light into her heart, and she had not been able to read his letter sufficiently often. He had recommended to her his nephew whom he had left behind in Canterbury: that was not at all necessary, she writes, for he was as good as *her* nephew. And of the King she says, Anselm should only not think that he was so prejudiced against him, as he appeared to be. He was of a much milder disposition than was generally represented, and she herself exerted every effort to strengthen this feeling. “Whatever portion of your income he hath hitherto remitted to you,” she adds, “this will be considerably increased on the expression of your wish to that effect. And if perhaps he does not act with perfect fairness in this respect, yet I entreat you, withdraw not from

(1.) Ep. III. 93.

him your affection on this account, but continue to pray for him, for me, for our child and our kingdom." Anselm expressed his warmest thanks for this letter, which had caused him the greatest joy, yet he omitted not to remark, that the passage relating to the income had annoyed him : for it was not a question of money, but of right with him. The least diminution of which was regarded by him as a robbery of the whole, and he must equally protest against both. He had not yet withdrawn his love from the King, but for the future he would only promise so much, that he would suffer no bitterness to dwell in his heart, which is against God.⁽¹⁾ At the same time with this answer to the Queen, the letter was sent to the King, in which he appealed to baptism and ordination⁽²⁾ in order to remove the supposition of having preferred political, before ecclesiastical authority. The impression which this letter made on the King annihilated all the Queen's hopes, and she wrote to Anselm in great tribulation, and could not abstain from reproaching him with a certain degree of irritability (intemperies) in that passage which rather embittered than reconciled the mind of the King. Anselm replied in the most friendly terms, and explained his meaning of the words baptism, and ordination. No other letters of the Queen yet remain to us, but we perceive from a subsequent one of Anselm's⁽³⁾ that their correspondence continued : for he heartily acknowledges her kindness and requests her

(1.) Ep. III. 97.

(2.) Ep. IV. 43.

(3.) Ep. IV. 12.

not to relax her efforts in gaining the heart of the King for the cause of the Church.

A remarkable correspondence was carried on at this time between Anselm and the Chapter of Canterbury. Immediately after the departure of William of Warelwast he had intimated to his monks that he possibly might not soon return to them.⁽¹⁾ After the receipt of the King's letter from Gerhard this became a certainty, and he now admonished them to walk in humility during his absence, since God had determined otherwise than he and they wished.⁽²⁾ This intelligence caused the greatest excitement in Canterbury, and both Gondulf and Ernulf at once addressed him in the strongest terms on the necessity of his return to England, and urged him not to give up the important charge of his flock on account of an evil word spoken against him by William of Warelwast. Anselm defended himself in a letter to Ernulf of the following ⁽³⁾tenor "You have heard with whom I can hold no intercourse according to the directions of the Pope, if I would keep a safe conscience, and you know that the King associates with these: what then can I do if, *e. g.* I should be summoned to Court⁽⁴⁾ to crown the King, to solemnize

(1.) Redire nequeo, donec sciam, quid Rex respondeat litteris quas illi mitto per Episcopum Roffensem. Ep. III. 82.

(2.) Ep. III. 89.

(3.) Ep. III. 90.

(4.) Picard (Annot. in An. Ep. p. 401.) cannot understand the meaning of this passage, since the King had been already crowned. But it was a prevailing custom for the Kings to be again crowned on solemn state occasions by a Bishop, which was regarded as a kind of confirmation of their dignity. (See Ivo. Epp. 16-67-84., & Urban II. Ep. 36, in Mansi I XX. p. 687.) It only differed from the first coronation by the omission of the anointing.

mass, and find these present? Expel them I cannot, pray with them I ought not, and yet I must perform the service due to the King. If I should remain at home and refuse to come to Court that I may not meet them, then the King and all the Peers would feel offended, that in a certain degree I despoiled the crown. The privilege of crowning the King which hitherto hath belonged to the Primate of his kingdom would be transferred to another Bishop, and thus I should deprive the Church of Canterbury of this privilege. When it is alleged, that I on account of an evil word should not desert my flock, for which if necessary I must shed my blood, men do not reflect that a single word may have weighty consequences, which especially holds good of this word. If the evil to me in that word only affected my person, O! how gladly would I submit to it, and endure every injury in my body, to bear witness to the truth. But I foresee that by carrying on my contest with the King in England, the Church and my people will suffer for it, without coming to any final arrangement, and their complaints against me would cry unto God. Should persecution also happen, it is better that it should take place in my absence, since I could not check it by my presence, and at the same time should confirm and authorize it for the future. If it is asserted that the bodily harm which I might occasion by my presence, is nothing in comparison to the spiritual injury which results from my absence, then I must reply; we should not do evil that good may come: also, I dare not bring injury on any one, in order that another may have spiritual advantage.

Under all circumstances nothing remains for me but to leave to God the final decision of the affair. But know thus much; if God gives grace, I will never bind myself by an oath of allegiance unto a man." Ernulf had asked him whether he also should break off intercourse with those, whom Anselm shunned. This Anselm will neither advise nor dissuade, "but it will be best to leave things in their present state. For you cannot set yourselves in opposition to the whole kingdom: also it is not your fault if unworthy demands are made upon you: but take good heed from doing anything of which you may afterwards repent: only in every case avoid violence." On the otherhand he writes to Gondulf, "Neither threats nor promises should allure from you a homage, an oath, a vow (of a feudal kind): but when anything of this nature is required from you, thus speak: I am a Christian, I am a Bishop, and on this account I will keep faith with all, as far as I am bound to every one. Add nothing to this: let nothing extort this from you. This is my principle, and God willing, I will neither exaggerate nor diminish it." "I hope" he says previously, "and it is my firm resolution, to do nothing which is not consistent with my episcopal honor in order to return to England. For I had rather be in discord with men, than in harmony with men and in discord with God." A second letter from Gondulf in which he describes the melancholy state of the English Church owing to his absence, and once more repeats that "for the sake of an inconsiderable word, he ought not to absent himself from England," made no impression on Anselm:

he simply referred him to his Epistle to Ernulf.⁽¹⁾ Even individual monks from Canterbury attacked Anselm with entreaties and representations. A certain Orduin writes expressly to inform him what the people in England thought of his absence. "Why was he unwilling to allow the King the Investitures? Did he not himself allow worthless priests to enter the Church, and did he not invest lay-men with Churches? Or were not lay-men often seen in his Churches, standing at the altar and collecting alms? What else could it be which hindered his return to England, but dislike of his office?" Anselm condescended even to answer these reproofs.⁽²⁾ "I do not," says he, "on mine own authority refuse the King the Investitures, but because the Pope and councils impose it upon me as a duty. So unwilling am I to have worthless Priests in the Church, that I am in exile on that account: for if the Lay Investiture did not exist, things would be very different in this ⁽³⁾ respect. But it cannot be called a surrender of the Church to lay-men, when I let (*ad firmam do*) to lay-men, the property (*Maneria*) which belong to the Church: for I appoint these, not as masters, but as defenders of the Church, and the Clergy cannot appoint them, but with

(1) Ep. IV. 44. *Ibi ut puto legetis rationabiles causas, quare nec debui, nec debeo, secundum quod res nunc est, redire in Angliam.*

(2) Ep. III. 100. IV. 45.

(3) The "*Vita victorina*," p. 16, justly remarks, that the chief ground of Anselm's opposition to the right of Investiture was, "*quod ceteri Laici, Regis exemplo, auctoritate privata Presbyteros sine legitima Episcoporum approbatione Sacerdotiis præficerent.*" The abuse of the right of patronage corresponded in a minor degree with the abuse of the Investiture, "worthless Bishops, worthless Parsons."

mine, or the permission of my Archdeacon and Prior. Least of all have I conceded, that lay-men should succeed to spiritual appointments, and in my diocese, I hope, as I believe, this will never occur. Lastly, with regard to my return to England, my duty is nearest my heart: but at present I do not see how I can reasonably execute it." Anselm was thrown into greater embarrassment, by a letter written to him, by the same Orduin and two other monks of Canterbury, Farmann and Benjamin. "If he would not come to them, they would come to him: for without him they could no longer exist." This he most expressly forbid, although he gratefully acknowledged their good intentions. For if he allowed this to one or two, he must to all, and their whole assembly would be broken up. The same request had been made by Ernulf, Gondulf, &c. But he would not return to them, before the King acknowledged his injustice. "For if I did not insist upon his open declaration, that he was not disposed to rob me, and take possession of the Archbishoprick, I should, by my example, establish a base, yea, disgraceful and abominable custom for myself and my successors, which God forbid! I fear neither sorrow nor death, but sin, and the disgrace of the Church which hath been once entrusted to me."⁽¹⁾

In the meanwhile, in the summer of 1104, the King had actually sent a new embassy to Rome, in order to induce the Pope to compliance, and the Queen forwarded a letter to Paschal, in which she made use of the most earnest entreaties to effect the return of ⁽²⁾Anselm.

(1) Ep. III. 108.

(2) Ep. III. 99.

Anselm had not only sent tidings to the Pope of what had occurred between him and William of Warelwast,⁽¹⁾ but also about the same time as the royal embassy set out, he dispatched his faithful Baldwin to Rome, in order to make the Pope acquainted with the further development of the business.⁽²⁾ At the same time, he wrote to his friend John, formerly Abbot of Telesi, and now Bishop of Tusculum, and to another Cardinal, and entreated their co-operation, that out of regard for his person, the authority of the Church and the Holy See, might not "in any way be weakened." For he had rather die in exile, than that for his sake, the honor of the Church should experience the slightest ⁽³⁾injury. Hereupon the Pope replied to both parties, that he would lay the affair before the council, which he intended to hold next Lent, (1105) and would abide by their decision.⁽⁴⁾ Anselm now expected nothing less than the excommunication of the King, at this council. All zealous friends of the Church urged upon the Pope, the final adoption of strong measures in favor of Anselm. We still possess a letter, written at this time, by Matilda, Margravine of Tuscany, to Paschal, in which she pronounces it "a disgrace that such an excellent member of the Church should continue so long in inactive exile, and his service be withdrawn from the body, to which in all respects he was so essentially necessary." But the Pope was still unwilling to proceed to extreme measures, and the excommunication was only pronounced

(1) Ep. IV. 46.

(2) Ep. IV. 47.

(3) Ep. IV. 48,

(4) Ep. IV. 55.

against the advisers of the King, who had confirmed him in his usurpation of the right of Investiture, especially against the Count of Meulant, also once more against those invested by him, "Because they sought to make the free woman a servant." Against the King himself, the sentence was postponed by the Pope, because he had promised to send ambassadors once more, after Easter. The Archbishop, Gerhard of York, who must in the meantime have again approached the Pope, received the commission to publish the excommunication in England. Paschal informed Anselm of it, in a letter of 25th April, 1105, in which he expressed the warmest interest for him, but said, that he must yet for the present spare the King.

This letter now brought Anselm to the resolution, not to rely any longer on the Pope, since he foresaw that the King would amuse him with his promises, even to eternity: but to take in hand the last measure which remained to him, for the termination of the controversy. In concurrence with his friend Hugo, he resolved on the strength of his Archiepiscopal authority, to excommunicate the King. Yet he did not wish to do this at Lyons, but in order to strengthen the impression of the act as much as possible, in the immediate neighbourhood of Henry, who was at this time in Normandy. An invitation therefore from Manasseh II., Archbishop of Rheims, was very acceptable. After a residence of nearly a year and a half, about the end of May, 1105, he set out from Lyons, the inhabitants of which place once more witnessed his departure with great regret, and entered Champagne. When he arrived at Charité, a

cell of the monastery of Clugny, on the Loire, he heard that Adele, Countess of Blois, and the sister of Henry I., who had afforded him such a friendly reception at Chartres, two years before, was unwell at Blois. He had already experienced much kindness from her, and knew also, that she received advice and consolation from no one more willingly, than from himself. Therefore he now deemed it a duty to offer her his spiritual assistance, and made a deviation to Blois. She found herself better on his arrival, but wished him not to continue his journey immediately, and importuned him urgently to reside awhile with her. He did not conceal from her the occasion of his travelling through France, and this intelligence disturbed her so much, that she determined to exert every effort to bring about a reconciliation between him and the King. She induced her guest to travel with her to Chartres, and from thence sent a messenger to her brother, with tidings of Anselm's intentions. Henry was in fact much surprised. He was at that time engaged again in a campaign against his brother Robert, and owing to the weakness of the latter, had succeeded in reducing the greater part of Normandy to his obedience: yet his dominion was anything but popular. An excommunication would shatter it afresh, and throw an important weight into the scale of his brother. He therefore took counsel with his chiefs, what measures should be adopted to ward off the threatened danger. An interview with the Primate appeared the best. He therefore requested his sister to conduct him into Normandy in order that they might have a conference, as he was disposed for

the sake of peace to make every possible concession. He proposed for their place of meeting, the town of l'Aigle between Séez and Mortagne. Anselm was brought here by the Countess on the appointed day, and received by the King with every mark of kindness and friendship. He at once opened the negotiation with the proposal to remove the confiscation from the Archbishoprick, and establish the Primate in the full possession of it: he also promised the restitution of the income which he had hitherto drawn from it.⁽¹⁾ The right of investiture now came under discussion. Here also the King so far yielded, as to declare his readiness to renounce the actual investiture of the spiritual office, but he did not wish to have the relationship of the homage of the Prelates shaken, and therefore insisted on the oath of allegiance. Anselm entirely assented to the allegiance duty of the Prelates, for it resulted from their political subjection: but he had an objection to the oath, which appeared to him to grasp at too much, since it placed the Prelate entirely in the hands of the Prince, and the latter hereby obtained a power which endangered the independence of the spiritual government.

According to his view, the moral obligation should suffice, which is contained in the spiritual office, and even in the christianity of the Prelate. This involves obedience to the highest powers without bringing it into collision with the obedience towards God, which was in every respect done by the oath of Allegiance.

(1.) An. Ep. 111., 110.

But the King was not satisfied with this: the renunciation of the Investiture appeared to him a hazardous measure, and he thought that he should on no account surrender the oath, if he wished to secure the fidelity of the Prelates. A wider difference arose with regard to the Investitures hitherto granted by the King.—Henry required from Anselm the acknowledgment of these, and that he should hold communion both with the persons invested, and with those whom they had ordained. But on that point Anselm was immovable. The Pope who had imposed the sentence of excommunication must first withdraw it, before he could hold intercourse with them, or even return to England.—It was finally settled that Anselm should remain on the Continent until an embassy should have been sent to Rome to remove this, and the other point of disagreement (the oath of Allegiance.) This decisive conference was concluded on the 21st of July, 1105,⁽¹⁾ and the King was so rejoiced thereat, says Eadmer, “that during the whole time of our abode at l’Aigle, he never sent for Anselm on account of the negotiations, but always went to him.” For the report of the threatened excommunication had already spread throughout Normandy and the neighbouring countries. The King promised also to prepare the embassy as soon as possible. At Christmas, he said, he hoped to see Anselm at his Court.

(1) Eadmer’s account is very brief. The further particulars are found Ep. III. 123. IV. 73. *Tota difficultas causæ inter regem et me jam in hoc maxime videtur consistere, quia Rex quamvis de Investituris Ecclesiarum, Apostolicis Decretis se vinci ut spero permittat, hominia tamen Prælatorum, nondum vult, ait, dimittere.*

But he only too soon repented of his condescension. Anselm returned to Bec and waited in vain for William of Warelwast, with whom according to agreement he was to send his faithful Baldwin to Rome. He therefore made use of the interval to pay his promised visit to Rheims, where he was joyfully received by Manasseh and his Chapter and the whole population, and festivities continued for several days. Whilst here, he received a letter from the King which contained indeed an apology for the delay, but expressed nothing definite as to the time of sending his Ambassador. Anselm replied at once, with an urgent request that he would fix some period before which William would appear: for the affair was of sufficient importance to require the speediest settlement. He would wait at least until Christmas, and if William should not then arrive, dispatch his own Ambassador.⁽¹⁾ At the same time he wrote to Robert of Meulant, whom he conjectured to be the author of the delay, and requested him to exert all his influence to bring the transaction to an end. He then immediately returned to Bec. But week after week passed without the arrival of William. Michaelmas was already over: Then came a letter⁽²⁾ from the King, who laid the blame on the stormy weather which had hitherto prevented his Ambassador from crossing. At last he did actually arrive, and brought a friendly letter in which the King expressed a hope, that the embassy would succeed "in restoring a lasting peace and friendly relationship between them."⁽³⁾ No one was now more joyful than

(1.) An. Ep. III., 111.

(2.) Bp. IV. 63.

(3.) Ep., IV., 64.

Anselm. But William and Baldwin had scarcely left Bec, when a fresh letter arrived requesting him to detain the Ambassadors, for the King had heard⁽¹⁾ from his Chancellor (Walderick) and several others, that at present there were two Popes in Rome at war with each other: would it not therefore be better to wait? Fortunately Anselm could now inform the King, that the Ambassadors had already set out when he received his letter, and with regard to the two-fold Popedom, Paschal had been formally (*secundum Deum*) elected, and had been acknowledged and confirmed by the whole Catholic Church. Anselm had given his Ambassador two other letters; one to his friend Hugo, at Lyons, whom he requested as well to instruct the Ambassadors respecting their method of proceeding in Rome, as that he himself should recommend to the Pope what seemed most suitable, ("for I know that you hold fast the truth, and therefore above all things wished for your presence at the discussions for the freedom and welfare of the Church:") the other letter was for the Pope, to whom he simply sent a statement of the case.⁽²⁾ But how anxiously he longed for a conciliatory issue of the controversy, is further shewn in a letter which he sent to the monks of Canterbury immediately after the departure of the embassy, and in which he requests them to invoke the Lord more intensely than ever, for the restoration of peace.⁽³⁾

(1.) Ep. IV., 67.

(2.) Ep. IV., 73. He also informs the Pope that he had re-admitted into the Church, the Count of Meulant.

(3.) Ep. IV., 66.

And well might he long for a return to England; for the requisitions from thence were continually more urgent, that he would no longer withhold himself from his pastoral duties. If his "voluntary exile" had been unintelligible before, it now appeared much more so, since every disagreement with the King was thought to be arranged, Eadmer here inserts a letter which a man "of no inconsiderable dignity"⁽¹⁾ wrote to him, to express his surprise at his conduct. For it was impossible to conceive what yet prevented him from returning to his duties, whilst the condition of the English Church most imperatively demanded his presence.

In fact the prospect was very melancholy, not only was there a cessation of all discipline and order, but the King even in this winter (1105-6) indulged in the most arbitrary acts of extortion. He was in fact only returned to England to raise the sums which he required, for the expensive campaign in which he had engaged for the conquest of Normandy, and he proceeded with a degree of recklessness that had only been practised by William Rufus, and now fell with double severity on the country, in its impoverished state. The poor were stript of their furniture and even of their shelter; for men carried off their house-doors when they had nothing to pay, or actually expelled the indwellers. But he who possessed anything, was under some newly-devised pretexts summoned into a court of justice, and condemned in a fine (*forisfactura*.⁽²⁾) The latter method

(1.) Eadm. V. N., 71.

(2.) *Forisfactum* (forfait)—*delictum*; *forisfacere*—*foris vel extra jus et æquum facere*.

was chiefly adopted towards the clergy. The Synod of London had re-enacted with greater severity the laws against the marriage of Priests: but during the absence of Anselm they were not strictly enforced: the married clergy had either not separated from their wives, as the synod ordained, or taken them again. The King made use of this, as a means of extortion. He accused them by means of his officials, and unless they paid a certain sum, distrained upon them. But when this measure did not bring in so much money as was expected, for the greater part of the clergy were still unmarried, the innocent were subjected to a like penalty with the guilty, by an imposition of a tax upon all parishes, which the parsons must pay, unless they would be plundered, incarcerated, and exposed to every possible vexation. The oppression was so severe, that two hundred of them once assembled, barefoot, and in their robes, to meet the King on his way to London, and complain to him of their grievances. But he was so little moved that he ordered them immediately out of his sight. They now applied to the Queen; but she had only tears for them, and did not venture to present their petition. Even the Bishops who had hitherto always supported the King, so that they preferred deserting their Primate, to the loss of his favor, began now to see the tendency of the struggle towards the destruction of the liberties of the Church. Six of them (Gerhard of York, Robert of Chester, Herbert of Norwich, Ranulf of Chichester, Sampson of Worcester, and William of Winchester) drew up a common⁽¹⁾ address to

(1.) Ep. III. 121.

Anselm, in which they most pathetically conjured him to resume the Primacy, and offered him the strongest support in counsel and deed. They write, "the streets of Zion mourn while the uncircumcized possess them. The temple mourns, because the laity have thrust themselves into the Holy of Holies, even unto the Ark of the Covenant. Exalt thyself, as formerly that aged Mattathias! Thou wilt find amongst thy sons, the courage of a Jonathan, and the prudence of a Simon. These will fight with thee the battle of the Lord, and if thou shouldest be gathered to thy Fathers before us, then will we enter upon the inheritance of thy labour. But thou must not tarry, for wherefore lingerest thou in the distance and lettest thy sheep perish without a shepherd? There remaineth for thee no more excuse before God. For we are prepared not only to follow, but if thou commandest, even to go before thee: in that cause we no longer seek what is our own, but what is God's." Anselm ⁽¹⁾ thanked them from his heart for this "Episcopal manliness," but he did not omit to remark that their former patience (to express it in the mildest language) had introduced the present mournful state of the Church, and he added in conclusion, "that *he* in their stead, even at the cost of his life, would never be silent under such enormities as were now exercised in England, or in any way act as the servant or instrument of those who committed them. Yet he could not immediately return because his quarrel with the King was not fully settled, and he awaited the decision of the Pope as to what reliance he should place

(1.) Ep. III. 122.

upon him" (*quid et quantum confidere possim.*) He interceded for the poor Clergy in a letter to the ⁽¹⁾King, and represented to him, that it was not the part of worldly authority to punish the violations of the laws of the Church, but this was the office of the Bishops, in the absence of the Primate. Therefore he should leave all questions of discipline to him, whom he had already reinstated in his office, the main part of which was the cure of souls, not the possession of land. The King expressed much astonishment at the letter of Anselm, for he thought he had acted as he would have done, yet promised to take the matter into consideration with his Barons, and informed him that he intended on Ascension-day, to cross the sea, and would then endeavour to give him a satisfactory explanation. But if in the mean time the ambassadors should return, he was at liberty either to keep them with him until his arrival, or at once dispatch them to England.

In fact, about this time the Ambassadors returned. The Pope had given them a verbal commission, and two letters, the former to Baldwin, the latter to William of Warelwast. Baldwin's instructions related to an affair, in which Anselm had been appointed mediator. William, Archbishop of Rouen had been induced, if not himself to perform the marriage ceremony between Philip I. of France, with Bertrade, the wife of Fulco, Count of Anjou, yet to allow the solemnization of it, by one of his suffragans, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. He had therefore been suspended by Urban II. and Anselm had

(1.) Ep. III. 109.

in vain applied to him in behalf of his former Archbishop. But he found a hearing with Paschal II., who now commissioned him to settle the affair in his name, according to his own judgment. Anselm therefore immediately went to Rouen to discharge his commission, where a Synod happened to be assembled, on the general business of the Diocese. It was here also, that William of Warelwast delivered the two letters from the Pope, to be opened and read before the whole assembly. The one was addressed to the Archbishop of Rouen, and informed him, that the Pope had received the application of Anselm, and was willing to grant him pardon, according to his judgment. The other (dated Beneventum, 23rd March) contained the decree of the Pope, on the questions submitted to him by Anselm, relating to his controversy with the King. It commences thus, "He in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, be praised, that he hath also inclined the heart of the English King to be obedient to the Apostolical See." Paschal then proceeds to acknowledge that he ought to requite concession, with concession. For he who would lift up one from the ground, must himself stoop to offer him his hand; only he ought not to lose his own balance. In fact, the Pope approved of all the requisitions of the King. Even the three Bishops, who had formerly brought that false report, Anselm, at the earnest request of the King, was to receive again into communion, until the Pope sent him further instructions thereon. It is self evident that the Pope wished absolution to be given to the King, the Queen, and the Peers who had been engaged in this affair. But above

all, in order to the attainment of such a progressive improvement, Anselm should proceed "with mildness, forbearance, wisdom and carefulness," that what was not yet corrected, might be in time amended, through his zeal. We know not what impression this ⁽¹⁾*condescension* of the Pope made upon Anselm, but it is evident, from a letter⁽²⁾ which he received from his friend Hugo, at that time, that the latter was not free from anxiety, lest Anselm might even still persevere in his contest with the King. He thus warns him, "you recollect that it has always been our opinion, that you should again undertake the care of the Church entrusted to you, as soon as it could in any way be done with a good conscience. Now when I hear from Baldwin, that at length, by the grace of God, you have for the most part, attained the aim for which you have struggled and suffered so much; I entreat and exhort you, in order that you may keep your courage and hopes for further progress, willingly to submit to the Papal ordinance, that you may not, by estimating your opinion, higher than the authority of the Holy See, make yourself responsible for the opposition, not only against the world and the kingdom, but also against the Church and the Priesthood. For although in the field of the English Church, so many seeds fall on the rock, or by the wayside, or amongst thorns, you will yet find also the good ground, which will receive your preaching,

(1.) We read in Paschal's letter, Ead. V. N. IV. 74., *Quod autem et Regi et eis, qui obnoxii videntur adeo condescendimus.*

(2.) An. Ep. III. 124.

and bring forth fruit with patience." But Anselm did not require this admonition; he was a son of the Church, much too obedient, not willingly to comply, even in what was difficult. And in fact: could he find it otherwise than reasonable, that the oath of allegiance should be left to the King, since he might justly desire a stronger pledge of the fidelity of the prelates, than their piety? Nor was it less reasonable, that no retrospective powers should interfere with the new determination, and that those who had been lately invested, should escape with impunity. Yet whatever might be Anselm's private thoughts, the decision of the Pope was sufficient to silence every contradiction that might agitate him.

From Rouen, William of Warelwast hastened to England, to deliver the Papal decision to the King. He was naturally much rejoiced at it, and immediately sent back his Ambassador across the Channel, to request the Primate to return to England as soon as ⁽¹⁾ possible. But on his return to Bec, Anselm was taken seriously ill, and had not recovered on the arrival of William: yet he was induced by his persuasion, who told him that the King was now in the best disposition to listen to his wishes for the further improvement of the Church, to commence his journey. Yet at Jumièges, he found himself so much worse, that his progress was delayed. From hence he sent a communication to the King, who now really felt the deepest interest in his recovery. No loss, said he, and he confirmed by his customary oath,

(1.) The Queen probably sent the letter, IV. 74., in which she anxiously looks forward to the speedy termination of the "*tam longa, tam tædiosa absentia*" of Anselm.

(*per verbum Dei*) would affect him so nearly as that of Anselm, and he wrote⁽¹⁾ to him, not only to take every possible care of himself, but directed his people in Normandy, to supply the invalid with every thing necessary: he himself was shortly coming to Normandy, where Anselm was to wait for his arrival. He remained a whole month at Jumièges. When he found himself better, he was conveyed back to Bec, in order more conveniently to receive the King. But he was taken ill again in Bec, and this time so dangerously, that his death was expected every moment, and the neighbouring Abbots and Bishops had already assembled to prepare the funeral solemnities, when a sudden crisis took place, which once more led to his recovery. About the middle of August, 1106, he was restored to health, and on the arrival of the King at Bec, was able to celebrate high mass. At the conclusion of divine service, they both entered into a conference, in which, on the ground of the compact of the twenty-first of the former year, they came to an agreement upon all the still controverted points. The King renounced his claim to Investiture, and Anselm no longer declined the oath of allegiance. Moreover, Anselm insisted upon two conditions; first, that the Church should be ⁽²⁾exempt from taxes, *i. e.* from those arbitrary contributions, which William Rufus had first imposed upon them, and

(1) An. Ep. IV. 75, 76.

(2.) This did not include an exemption from the regular contributions called the "*trinoda necessitas*," the obligation to war service, maintenance of Burghs, and bridges (and public roads,)—*fyrð*, *burhbote*, *bryebote*.

which Henry had first exacted during the past winter: secondly, that the King should never make use of the absence or death of a prelate, in order to appropriate his income. Henry had already promised both, in the "Charta libertatis." He therefore agreed to them without hesitation, and also bound himself to make compensation, as well to the parsons, as to the Archbishop, for the losses sustained by them. The former were to be released from all taxes for three years, and to the latter, every thing was to be restored, which the King had extracted from the property of the Archbishoprick, during his absence. During this conference, Anselm only prolonged his stay in Bec, to consecrate a newly erected chapel,⁽¹⁾ in the lower part of the buildings of the monastery (in the valley), and then set out on his return to England. With what joy⁽²⁾ and exultation he was received on his landing at Dover, after an absence of three years and a half, Eadmer will not attempt to express. He only remarks that the Queen, "forgetting all worldly splendor," preceded him from station to station; in order to prepare for his reception, and was the first in the processions, with which the monks and clergy greeted him at different places. The officers of the King were at once removed from the Churches and Cloisters, situate in the district of the Archiepiscopal see, and a proclamation was issued to the whole clergy of the country, that every oppression was now at an end.

(1.) Ead. Vit. 25.

(2) An. Ep. III, 145. Ead. v. n. IV. 47.

In the mean time, Henry remained in Normandy, and on the 28th of November, gained the decisive victory of Tinchebray, which made him master of all Normandy, and delivered the Duke himself into his hands. He communicated this to Anselm, by a letter in his own hand-writing, in which he ascribed the important result of that day, not to himself and his own power, but to the gracious guidance of God; and concludes with these words, "that Anselm might pray to the great Judge above, that he would not suffer this triumph to turn to his injury and destruction, but to a beginning of the good work and new zeal in his service, in order that the Church might reap the enjoyment of it, and increase in freedom and power, under the protection of peace." After the King had provided for the administration of Normandy, he returned to England, and on the next court day, at Easter, 1107, the remaining points in the controversy, were to be finally settled, with the concurrence of the Peers. But the Pope, (who at that time, in consequence of his contest with Henry V. had escaped into France,) wished that at a Council which he proposed to hold at Troyes, on matters connected with the Investiture-controversy, the two ambassadors, William of Warelwast and Baldwin, should be present, and the King flattered himself with the hope that probably something more would be conceded to him. The definitive settlement was postponed from the Court-day at Easter until Whitsuntide. At this Council of Troyes the investiture-prohibition only, was again confirmed: in the meantime the King obtained the relaxation of it with regard to the Abbot of

Ely, and sent a letter to Anselm (20th May) who at "the intercession of the King and William of Warelwast, granted his readmission⁽¹⁾ to Church communion, and re-establishment in his office." In the mean time Anselm had gone from London, where the Court-day had been held, to the Monastery of St. Edmund, in order to instal a new Abbot there, and provide for other official arrangements, but was again taken dangerously ill when he was about to return, and must remain there until Whitsuntide. The Court-day appointed for that time was put off until the 1st of August, when the peers of the kingdom at length assembled in the royal palace in London, to consult on the investiture question. The debates lasted for three days, in which Anselm took no part, but only the King, the Peers, and the Bishops. There were still some who were willing that the King should not give up his right of investiture. But Henry was convinced by his last embassy, that in this respect, he could never again bring the Pope over to his side. He was therefore willing to abide by the result obtained, that he should receive the oath of allegiance, but give up the investiture, and the Peers at length assented.—Hereupon Anselm was summoned before the Assembly, and the King declared in the presence of all, that in future, "no Bishop or Abbot should be invested by the grant of a ring and crosier, neither from the King, nor from the hand of any layman." Anselm also

(1) Ead. v. n. IV. 76. Anselm also obtains a dispensation with full authority. *Cætera etiam quæ in regno illo pro necessitate temporis dispensanda sunt, juxta gentis barbariem, juxta Ecclesiæ opportunitates sapientiæ ac religionis tuæ sollicitudo dispenset.*

declared "that he would refuse consecration to no Prelate on account of the oath of allegiance which he might take to the King." Afterwards they at once proceeded to fill up the vacant Sees. The King first interrogated the Primate and the assembled orders of the kingdom concerning the persons chosen by him, then simply designated them as elected, received from them the oath of allegiance, and at the conclusion of the meeting, sent them to Canterbury in order to be consecrated (and invested) by Anselm. There were five, namely, the three already ⁽¹⁾mentioned,—(William of Winchester, Roger of Salisbury, and Reinhelm⁽²⁾ of Hereford), the well known William of Warelwast and a certain Urban who had been elected Bishop of Glamorgan. On the following Sunday (11th August) Anselm, with the assistance of Gerhard Archbishop of York, Robert Bishop of Lincoln, John of Bath, Herbert of Norwich, Robert of Chester, and ⁽³⁾Ranulf of Durham, consecrated them, and on the same day, Ealdwin Abbot of Ramsey, who had been deposed in London 1102, at the intercession of the Pope, received his crosier again; and on the following Thursday the Abbot of St. Edmunds, Robert (previously Prior of St. Peter's Abbey, Westminster) received consecration. Hereupon Anselm wrote to the Pope (in reply to a letter of his from Troyes) to give him information of the settlement of the controversy. He writes thus: "The King hath obeyed you and re-

(1) See page 150.

(2) Tunc nuper Ecclesie suæ restitutus. Ead.

(3.) He had been restored to his See according to the Amnesty agreed upon between the King and his brother Robert in 1101.

nounced Investiture. Count Robert of Meulant⁽¹⁾ and Richard de Redueris have mainly contributed to this end. Even in the election of persons, the King no longer abides by his own inclinations, but fully entrusts himself to the counsel of the pious."

This last remark clearly proves that the Church had by no means retained her full canonical right of election, but was only *taken into counsel*. But yet, with regard to this counsel, it might be expressed in the tone of recommendation or consent; and was therefore of great value, since it either determined or limited the choice of the King, and thus an important object was attained. Moreover the right of collation, the right of confirming the office, was expressly conceded to the Church; ring and crosier were no longer delivered by a worldly but by a spiritual hand; upon which, according to the mediæval view, an extraordinary value was laid. Well, therefore, might Eadmer say,⁽²⁾ that Anselm had really obtained by victory the liberty of the Church: for in every respect, Investiture was regarded by the middle ages as more than a mere formality. The symbol involved the reality; and the same degree of deep importance was attached to the coronation of the King by a Bishop, as to the Investiture of a Bishop by the King. In general the Investiture strife terminated, as it necessarily must have done, from the twofold position of the Prelate, as servant of the Church and

(1.) Ead. V. N. IV. 78. Yet Robert was about this time severely censured by the Pope. An. Ep. IV. 62.

(2.) Vit. Ans. 25. Eo igitur tempore (1107) victoriam de libertate Ecclesiæ, pro qua diu laboraverat, Anselmus adeptus est.

vassal of the Crown, with a partition between Church and State: for there remained to the latter, what at the beginning was equally refused with Investiture, because inseparable from it, the oath of allegiance; and the universal importance of the English Investiture struggle consists in this, that by it, the great contest which at that time divided Christendom here found *its first conciliatory adjustment*. Here, for the first time, Church and State inclined to each other; and from hence resulted that mediate view and principle which assigned to the State what belonged to the State, whilst it gave to the Church what belonged to the Church: a view which, fifteen years later, 1122, introduced the Concordat at Worms, and consequently the final settlement of the Investiture controversy.

As we have above remarked, this could only attain its conclusive arrangement in Germany, yet we find a confirmation of it in English history. For the only thing which here prevented the perfect establishment of peace, was the lenity with which Paschal treated Henry V. This is evident from a letter of Anselm's to the Pope (1108), a little before Whitsuntide.⁽¹⁾ He tells him, "Our King complains that you continue to indulge the German King with the Investiture of Churches, without excommunicating him. He therefore threatens to appropriate it again, if you allow it to him. Beware therefore lest the edifice so fortunately built by you, be again thrown down. For our King carefully informs himself of your pro-

(1.) An. Ep. III. 152.

ceedings towards that King." Paschal replies (from Beneventum, whence he had again issued a prohibition against Investitures), "Know, that we have never granted Investitures to the German King, nor ever will grant them. We have indeed waited until the wildness of the nation should be a little assuaged. But if the King continues to walk in the evil paths of his Father, he will assuredly feel the sword of St. Peter, which we have already drawn from the scabbard."⁽¹⁾ And in fact shortly after (1110) the contest with Henry V. attained its last great crisis, which brought both parties into as fierce a conflict as ever. Yet the threats of the King of England had not such a serious tendency. For we find the best understanding between him and Anselm since the year of peace, 1107. He consulted him on all his undertakings, and Anselm had thus an opportunity of exercising a salutary influence even in temporal concerns. In particular, he procured many alleviations for the oppressed people. Under William Rufus an abuse had prevailed, that on the King's journeys the royal attendants where he halted, not only obtained every thing gratuitously, but indulged in the greatest excesses, in destroying or selling what they could not consume or carry away, washed the feet of the horses with the superfluous wine, or poured it on the ground, &c. The people therefore, when they heard that the Court was coming, were accustomed to desert their dwellings and take refuge in the forests, in order to secure themselves from ill-treatment, and their wives and daughters from

(1.) An. Ep. III. 153.

censurable importunities. On the representation of Anselm (and the Peers), Henry issued an Edict, which prescribed a certain tax for those supplies, and imposed the utmost penalty on all such excesses, such as loss of eyes and amputation of the hands. Yet the highest testimony of the extraordinary confidence of the King was received by Anselm about half a year before his death.

About the end of the summer, 1108, Henry was obliged to go over to Normandy, on account of a boundary dispute with the King of France. He then not only entrusted to the Primate the guardianship of the Royal Family,⁽¹⁾ especially of the Heir to the Throne, but also formally nominated him Regent; whilst he directed the Justiciaries to follow his instructions in all things. Under these circumstances many might have expected all kinds of reform from Anselm; but how much he felt, that he might thereby encroach on the Royal prerogative, is seen from a letter written at that time to Helgot, Abbot of St. Audoen (in Rouen). "You ask me," he says, "whether it is true that the King, my master, hath entrusted me with his kingdom and all that he has, so that I have the full command over them? It is actually so, and he has thereby given me a great proof of his benevolence and love. But as it is written, 'All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient.' 1 Cor. vi. 12. So I do not consider it advisable to undertake any great

(1.) Ead. V. N. IV. 79. "ut quicquid statueret ratum esset, irritum, quod prohiberet." An. Ep. IV. 93. filium meum et filiam tibi committo, ut paterna dilectione eos foveas, et de iis filiastino amore curam agas.

thing on my own authority: but if God should bring back the King to us with the same disposition which he now entertains, I hope that his grace will accomplish much for us through him, at which we may have cause to rejoice."⁽¹⁾ But however far removed from over-grasping pretensions in politics, Anselm might be, so much the more zealously, he maintained the independence of his Ecclesiastical Government, and herein Henry not only allowed him the full exercise of liberty, but also supported him in making it available.

We have followed Anselm in the progress of his struggle for this independence; and it is now time to direct our attention to his Ecclesiastical efficiency, although the notices here will not be supplied in such abundance as those we have hitherto made use of, since the chief interest of his life is in every respect connected with the Investiture controversy.

(1.) An. Ep. III. 129.

CHAPTER THE TWELFTH.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT OF ANSELM.

If the Church was again to assume a strong and firm position in the State, unity of government must be the first condition ; and the establishment of this, Anselm considered the immediate duty of his office, since it strictly appertained to the Primate of the kingdom, as the head and centre of its collective Episcopate, both to represent and maintain this unity.

Under William Rufus the greatest relaxation in this respect had taken place. From the death of Lanfranc, 1089, the Church of England had remained five years without a Primate ; and the individual Bishops had endeavoured to establish their own independence. All hierarchical subordination had ceased, and several privileges of the Archbishop, which distinguished him as Primate and as the first Bishop of the land, had, to the advantage of their own diocesan power, been set aside by the suffragan Bishops of Canterbury or fallen into disuse. One of this kind was the privilege

of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in all the territories of the See, even if situate in the Diocese of another Bishop, immediately in person to perform an Episcopal act, and officiate as the Bishop of the Diocese. With regard to this right, about a quarter of a year after his accession to the See, Anselm engaged in a controversy with one of his suffragan Bishops. At Christmas, 1093, on his return from the court day, on which his quarrel with the King commenced, he went to a village of the See which was in the Diocese of London, named Herga (Berga),⁽¹⁾ to consecrate a Church built by Lanfranc, when Maurice, Bishop of London, sent two members of the Chapter of St. Paul's to enter a protest against it, whilst he maintained that the right of consecration belonged to him as Bishop of the Diocese. The holy ceremony had already commenced when the Prebendaries arrived: Anselm did not suffer their protest to disturb him; but calmly continued the service to the end. But afterwards, to avoid the charge of injustice, although he knew, from the information of Lanfranc, that St. Dunstan (961-988) had enjoyed and exercised this honourable privilege, he referred to the holy Wulfstan of Worcester, as the oldest of all the English Bishops, and who must have been best acquainted with the custom of the Church, with the question, what was the opinion regarding this right, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons? Wulfstan replied,⁽²⁾ that in his Diocese

(1.) Vit. Ans. II. 13.

(2.) Wulfstan's Letter is in Hist. Nov. b. 38. An. Ep. IV. 3. Anselm's Letter. Ep. III. 19.

there were yet many Altars and Churches which Stigand, the Anglo-Saxon predecessor of Lanfranc (1052-1070), had consecrated in his time and Aldred's (his predecessor, 1061); and that this right of the Archbishop of Canterbury had never been disputed. Maurice was silenced by this letter, and Anselm had gained no inconsiderable victory by preventing the other suffragan Bishops from claiming the like exemption. But how much the relations of Ecclesiastical subordination had been disturbed, was shown at the first Episcopal consecration under Anselm. It was that of the above-mentioned Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln, whom Anselm consecrated, as we have seen, at Hastings, on the occasion of the assembly of the Peers of the realm before William's departure for Normandy, in 1094. An original custom prevailed, that the person to be consecrated, before his consecration, gave in a written declaration, that he would hold fidelity and obedience to his Metropolitan. Anselm required this from Robert. But during the five years vacancy of the Primacy, the English Bishops had been so accustomed to Ecclesiastical licentiousness, that now several of them, in combination with some temporal Peers, expressed their opinion to Anselm, that he ought to consecrate without any declaration of the kind; and thus formally resisted his metropolitan authority. Anselm calmly, but firmly replied, that he never would comply with such a desire; and since he, this time, had the King on his side, who might well be afraid of an equal to his authority, if he should allow that of the Primate to be shaken, he succeeded in making

Robert perform the wished for "professio."⁽¹⁾ On every subsequent consecration he carefully insisted on the same; and by degrees restored the other rights to their validity, which belonged to him as Metropolitan and Primate, and by the re-establishment of hierarchical order brought the English Episcopate under one superintendence.

Above all things he applied to this after the termination of the contest with the crown. But he here met with fresh opposition, and the most serious conflict of all occurred a short time before his death.

Immediately after the Court-day, 1107, when he had performed all the consecrations which had been postponed, a controversy originated in his immediate neighbourhood. During the time of William Rufus, the Monks of the Cloister of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury, had elected for their Abbot, a relation of the King's, Hugo de Fleury, who had been brought up at Bec, but had afterwards followed the Conqueror to England, and remained in the royal service until on an accidental visit to St. Augustine's, he was so captivated with the Cloister that he requested and obtained permission to enter it. Nevertheless, (for what reason we are ignorant,) Hugo (1107) had not yet taken Deacon's orders. In September that year, he received Deacon's and, a little before Christmas, Priest's orders. But when, on the new year, he was to have been consecrated Abbot, in Christ's Church, Canterbury, as the Metropolitan Church, the Monks of St. Augustine's raised an objec-

(1.) Hist. Nov. i. 39.

tion by claiming an old privilege, on the strength of which their Abbot could only be consecrated in their own Church. But it was now proved, says Eadmer, that an original document of this privilege, or at least one satisfactorily attested, did not exist. Yet the Monks brought the affair before the King, and requested him to obtain the consent of Anselm to consecrate their Abbot in the Church of St. Augustine's. Henry, in fact, caused the request to be made to Anselm by the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Exeter, and Giselbert, the Abbot of Westminster. He replied, that out of respect for the advocates, he would gladly have fulfilled the wish of the Monks, if they had expressed it petitionally: but since they claimed it as a right, he must absolutely refuse them. For he should otherwise recognise the privilege for which they contended, and by that means encroach upon the dignity of the Cathedral of Canterbury, which is the centre of all spiritual power in Great Britain. Therefore the Primate is accustomed to leave his own See for no other consecration but that of the King or Queen. They then thought "he might consecrate the Abbot in the Chapel Royal." But Anselm would not consent, because this would be an encroachment on the dignity of the Crown. He then made the proposal that the consecration should take place in the Chapel of his present place of abode. This occurred; for the King thought that in this instance Anselm's directions should be strictly followed; and thus Hugo was consecrated at Lambeth, on the 26th February. Upon which many did not abstain from remarking, that it would have been far more

honourable to have been consecrated in the Metropolitan Cathedral, than in a Chapel of the Bishop of Rochester.⁽¹⁾ A similar case happened half a year later, In July, 1108, as we have seen, the King went to Normandy, and the Peers were at that time assembled at the port on the Sussex coast for his embarkation. Through the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, he made a request to Anselm, who was also present, that he would consecrate Richard (Belmoz), who had been elected Bishop of London in the room of the deceased Maurice, in Chichester, as being the nearest Cathedral, because he was anxious to employ Richard as soon as possible on some business for the State.⁽²⁾ Anselm would gladly have complied with the request of the King, and who brought it forward merely as a request, especially as at that time he had been greatly honoured by his appointment to the Regency; but he could not resolve to perform the consecration in Chichester, lest he should thus confer a privilege on the Cathedral of a suffragan Bishop, which he detracted from the Primacy. He, therefore, again had recourse to an expedient, and performed the consecration in the Chapel of a neighbouring Archiepiscopal village,⁽³⁾ Pagaham, on the 29th July.

(1) Ed. V. N. IV. 77.

(2) Eadmer assigns another reason for this haste, relating to the right of precedence between the Sees of York and London.—Hist. Nov. IV. 83.

(3) Eundem Episcopum pro amore illius in Capella sua apud Pagaham consecravit.—Vit. Nov. IV. 79. The following account of Pagham is from Dallaway's History of Sussex:—"The Manor, with the Hundred Court of Pagenham, was given by Ceadwalla, King of the West Saxons, to Wilfride, but soon transferred to the See of Canterbury: and in Domesday it is attributed

Richard was subsequently called upon to indemnify the Primacy for the loss, by an honorary donation.

In these consecrations Anselm had received, without opposition, the vow of fidelity and obedience. But one consecration yet remained, in which this was in the highest degree doubtful, and was in itself of the greatest importance; because here the Primacy of Canterbury, and consequently the unity of the English Church, in its supreme capacity, was at stake. On the 21st May, 1108, Gerhard, Archbishop of York, died. Thomas, the nephew of a former Archbishop of the same name, was appointed in his stead. The relationship of York to Canterbury, the subordination of the second Metropolis of the land under the first, had always been a critical point. Since the time of Egbert, 735, the Archbishops of York had endeavoured to concede to their co-metropolitan in Canterbury, another precedence than that of rank. They had seldom allowed to him an actual Primatial authority. And after the Conquest, Thomas Archbishop of York, 1070-1100, had renewed the old controversy: Lanfranc had had the greatest trouble in inducing him to take the canonical oath of obedience. But at a Synod in Winchester, 1072, he was at length constrained to comply, and had been solemnly confirmed in his office by the Primate of Canterbury. Nevertheless, Gerhard (1100-1108) had again started objections, as is shown by a letter of Paschal to him, in which he

to the Archbishop, as containing what then constituted a complete Manor, a Church, a mill, and a meadow, besides the demesnes of unusual extent. It was likewise the occasional residence of the Archbishops before they removed their palace to Slindon, within this Lordship."

was reminded of this decision. At the Court-day also, in London (1107), Anselm had required from Gerhard an express declaration on this point: but since the King thought that Gerhard already, by his consecration to the Bishoprick of Hereford, had pledged himself to canonical obedience to the Cathedral of Canterbury, Anselm had acquiesced, that Gerhard, by a shake of the hand, should promise to perform the same obedience to him, as Archbishop, which he had done as Bishop. But now a mere Clergyman, who had undertaken no obligation of the kind, Thomas II., became Archbishop: it was of the greatest importance that he should acknowledge, in all form, the Primacy of Canterbury. This must be done, according to usage, and the decree of the Synod of Winchester, if not by an oath, yet by a written declaration, which he must exhibit to the Primate at his consecration. On this account Thomas endeavoured, in imitation of his uncle, to postpone his consecration as long as possible, since he calculated that Anselm, who had never perfectly recovered the attack of illness at St. Edmund's, would soon die: he then hoped, during the vacancy, to accomplish his consecration without the declaration. Yet a circumstance now occurred, which frustrated this plan. Turgot, the Prior of Durham, had been called by Alexander King of Scotland, to the vacant Episcopal See of St. Andrew's, and required immediate consecration, in order not to leave his See two long unoccupied. This consecration must be solemnized by the Archbishop of York, as Metropolitan of all the Dioceses north of the Humber. But as long as Thomas was unconsecrated, he could not consecrate

another. It is true, indeed, that Ranulf, Bishop of Durham, offered to relieve him in his embarrassment, by his willingness to undertake the consecration, and perform it in the presence of Thomas, with the assistance of the Bishops of Scotland and the Orcades. But for this end the approbation of Anselm was necessary, and thus the affair was brought before him. Anselm decidedly rejected the proposal of Ranulf; for only either Thomas himself or, in extreme necessity, he (Anselm), as Primate, could confer this consecration. At the same time he wrote to Thomas, to express his astonishment that he had not yet presented himself at Canterbury for his own consecration. According to the laws of the Church, no Bishoprick ought to remain vacant above three months: he therefore required his attendance at Canterbury, on the 6th September, in order to receive consecration.⁽¹⁾ Thomas excused himself on the plea of a momentary deficiency of money, which had hitherto hindered him from undertaking a journey to Canterbury; whilst, at the same time, he had to provide funds for an embassy to Rome on account of the Pallium. But he would endeavour, if possible, to be present at Canterbury on the appointed day; if not, to give sufficiently early information. Anselm replied, that, in order to save Thomas the trouble of writing, he would willingly postpone the period until the 27th of September. With regard to the Pallium, no such haste was requisite, since the consecration must necessarily precede it.⁽²⁾ But Anselm fearing lest Thomas

(1) An. Ep. III. 142.

(2) Ep. IV. 88.

might first endeavour to obtain the Pallium, at once writes to the Pope, and requests him not to forward it until he shall have heard from him, that Thomas had presented himself for consecration, and promised the due obedience.⁽¹⁾ "For he would otherwise think himself justified in refusing this to me, and the consequence could only be a schism in the Church of England, and the saying of our Lord would be fulfilled, 'Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation.' Matt. xii. 25. Nor could I continue to reside in England, for I could never allow the Primacy of my Church to be depreciated." He then adds, "I must make the same request to you with regard to the Bishop of London, in case he should make application for the Pallium." Paschal (12th October) thanked him for the warning, and said that he would never allow the honour of the Church of Canterbury to be violated, since, in the person of Anselm,⁽²⁾ he beheld the holy Augustine, the Apostle of England. When Anselm received this letter the respite which he had given to Thomas had long expired, without his making his appearance in Canterbury. Instead of the want of money, he now alleged the opposition of his Chapter, which, in fact, had addressed a letter to Anselm, in which they maintained that the Church of York possessed a corresponding rank with that of Canterbury; and that their Archbishop, if he presented himself for consecration in Canterbury, was in no way bound to give in a declaration of obedience to the Archbishop of

(1) Ep. III. 152.

(2) Ep. III. 153.

the place. Therefore, in the name of God and the Pope, they had prohibited Thomas from appearing. Anselm did not condescend to answer this letter: but he once more directed a severe admonition to Thomas not to set up himself in opposition to his mother church, and appointed the 8th of November as the last respite for his appearance. Thomas replied, that he must hold with his Chapter. Then Anselm summoned the English Bishops to him to consult with them on the measures which he should adopt. It was resolved to dispatch two of their body to Thomas, who should persuade him that in case he would not give up his opposition, yet at least to present himself at Canterbury to explain his non-obligation to make the declaration. If he could establish this, his consecration should take place without it. The Bishop of London as Dean, and the Bishop of Rochester as Feodary of the Church of Canterbury, (*ejusdem ecclesiæ proprius atque domesticus*) were chosen for this purpose.⁽¹⁾ Thomas referred them to the King, to whom he had committed the matter, and by whose decision he was willing to abide. He shortly after received a letter from the King, in which he requested the postponement of the question until Easter, when he should return to England, (for he was now as we have mentioned in Normandy) and would settle the controversy with the aid of his peers. Anselm hereupon sent in his own, and in the name of the Bishops, Odo, Dean of Chichester, and Abbold, a Monk of Bec, to the King in order to lay before him a true statement of the case, and to request

(1) H. Nov. IV. 81.

him to prevent a schism. For the injustice of the Yorkist was as clear as the day, and Anselm would not allow him the least postponement. He also requested the support of Robert of Meulant⁽¹⁾ in this business. The King gave a friendly reception to the messengers and promised to prove by his conduct, that he wished for unity and not discord. At once in spite of his infirmities which had increased from the new year 1109, Anselm issued a fulminating epistle⁽²⁾ against Thomas, in which he prohibited him the exercise of every priestly office until he had withdrawn his opposition against the Church of Canterbury. "But if thou shouldest persevere in this resistance, I forbid under the penalty of an anathema, all the Bishops of England from consecrating thee, or if thou shouldest obtain consecration from a stranger, from acknowledging thee as Bishop." He then sent a copy of this document⁽³⁾ to every separate Bishop for their observance. In the mean while the Pope had commissioned the Cardinal Ulric, to convey the Pallium for the Archbishop of York to Anselm, in order that he might act with it as he pleased. The Cardinal did not arrive in England before the death of Anselm, and he remained there until the return of the King. On the Court day assembled in London, at Whitsuntide, 1109, the case was brought before the Peers. The Bishops produced before the Assembly the last written document of Anselm, and his example had gradually inspired them with so much confidence, that they, when Robert of Meulant disputed the validity of

(1) Ep. IV. 99.

(2) Ep. III. 155.

(3) Ep. IV. 101.

that document because it had been issued "*præter assensum et imperium Domini Regis,*" declared that they would fulfil it, although they should lose all on that account.⁽¹⁾ Even Sampson of Worcester, the father of the obstinate Archbishop supported this declaration, as having been an eye-witness, that Thomas I., his brother had been obliged expressly to acknowledge the Primacy of Canterbury. The King also decreed that Thomas should either promise the due obedience to the Church of Canterbury, or at once resign.⁽²⁾ He preferred the former, and the King immediately caused the declaration to be drawn up in the presence of all, and confirmed it with his seal. Afterwards on Sunday the 28th of June, Thomas was consecrated in St. Paul's Church, London, by the Bishop of that place as Dean of the Church of Canterbury, and in the presence of the Prior of this Church, Conrad: "*suscipiens a ministro quod suscipere detrectaverat a magistro.*" He then received the *Pallium* from Ulric, in York, and moreover consecrated Turgot.

With the same zeal as against his suffragans, Anselm defended the rights of his church against the Pope. For however submissively he obeyed him in all general circumstances, yet he steadfastly maintained the independence of the Ecclesiastical government of his country. But encroachments on this independence were then not

(1) *Se malle despoliari, quam iis quæ Anselmus de præsentî querela præceperat, non obtemperare.* Hist. Nov. 82.

(2) *Quibus auditis, gavisî sunt omnes, et agentes Domino grates pariter conclamaverunt, Anselmum adesse, et quam non poterat in corpore degens jam mundo absentem causam Ecclesiæ suæ determinasse.* Hist. Nov. IV. 83.

unfrequent on the part of Rome, for the supineness of the Episcopate of the land, had only too often occasioned the reforming Popes since Leo IX, in order to prevent a complete defection, to make advances with their central power, where the ordinary authority should have reached. The Popes had therefore been accustomed to send out into all countries, Legates, with unlimited powers "for the visitation of Churches, to watch over Archbishops and Bishops:" and these Legates appeared as Apostolical vicars, *i.e.* assumed in reference to the individual provinces or churches assigned to them, a claim to the same rights which belonged to the Pope in relation to the universal church. Now Anselm did not altogether dispute the Pope's right to legations, *i.e.* the appointment of ambassadors in all those cases where circumstances were to be determined which belonged to the Pope's jurisdiction, but in the nomination of *standing* legates for the supervision of whole ecclesiastical districts he plainly perceived an excess of papal authority, and an injury to the hierarchy of the kingdom, and he at once protested against legates of this kind for England, because since the time of St. Augustine, the Archbishop of Canterbury had not only exercised the rights of an apostolical vicar in England, but throughout Great Britain. On this point a misunderstanding took place between him and Walter, Bishop of Albano. The latter as we have seen, was the legate whom Urban II., 1095, sent to England to bring the pallium for Anselm to the King. But not content with the execution of this commission he still remained in England, and endeavoured to assume a sort of supervision over ecclesiastical

matters. For this end he required Anselm to appoint a synod at which they might confer on the state of the Church and on the "abolishing of that which ought to be abolished." Anselm in his answer declined,⁽¹⁾ in consequence of the disturbed state of the country, which would hardly allow the adoption of any useful measures. For at that time (Michaelmas 1095) the King was engaged in an expedition against the Welch: and without King and Peers, Walter must well know, that but little could be effected, and besides when the King took leave of him at Nottingham he had commissioned him to remain in Canterbury, that in the event of the enemy from the opposite coast appearing in the neighbouring harbour, he might at once order out the Kentish troops. Under these circumstances a synod was not to be thought of: but if Walter at his pleasure would communicate to him his proposals, he should then see what might be accomplished after the return of the King. The Legate replied to Anselm in a very arrogant style. He admonished him to take hold of the opportunity in which "St. Peter by his vicar visited the English church," he formally questions him on his catholicity, *i.e.* his relationship to Urban II., whilst he asks from what cause, so many Bishops had deserted him: whether it was true, as these affirmed, that he was not to be accounted a legitimate Bishop, since he had been consecrated during the time of a schism?⁽²⁾ He then gives him good instruction how he should conduct himself towards the monks of the church at Canterbury,

(1) An. Ep. III. 35.

(2) See page 104.

&c. Anselm replied to this letter in strong terms.⁽¹⁾ "He at first expressed his surprise to see Walter tarrying so long in England, although he had taken leave of him and the King (*veluti non nos in hac terra amplius invicem visuri*) and then said, Walter very much erred if he believed that his heart was not fixed upon the vineyard of the Lord. 'I myself clearly perceive what faults ought to be abolished, and assuredly am anxious to abolish them; a desire which no man need excite in me.' But it requires only the right time and hour, as well as the counsel and support of those who are appointed for this end. He then validly confutes the sophisms of those Bishops, and asks why Walter if he regarded them as cogent, had not entered into a discussion of them before the delivery of the Pallium; and finally appeals to his contest for the acknowledgement of Urban II.: a contest of which the whole kingdom had been witness, and for which he did not think he deserved to be called to account by Urban's Legate." It seems that Walter thought it expedient to retract: at least we have a short parting letter of Anselm's⁽²⁾ to him couched in tolerably friendly terms, and in Hugo of Flavigny we find a notice that William Rufus had concluded a "convention" with him; "that in future no Legate should come to England except at the express wish of the King."⁽³⁾ Anselm also on his subsequent visit to Rome did not omit to speak to Urban II. on this subject. He represented to him the necessity of

(1) Ep. III. 36.

(2) Hasse refers to v. 21.

(3) Chron. Virod, p. 241.

entrusting the legation of England to the existing Primate, and explained so clearly his original right to it that the Pope declared himself fully convinced. Nevertheless Paschal II. again made the attempt to introduce a legate into England. Anselm had scarcely been recalled from his first exile, when (about the end of the year 1100) Guido, Archbishop of Guienne appeared in England under the pretence that he had received from the Pope the legation of the whole of Great Britain. But Guido was acknowledged by no one, and must even depart as he came.⁽¹⁾ Anselm complained of this, in a letter which he was then writing to the Pope, on the Investiture ⁽²⁾controversy. He appealed to the promise which had been made to him by Urban II. explained how inconsistent it was, for a distant Archbishop, who was separated from England by one sea and two kingdoms, to be entrusted with the inspection of this country; and finally, brought forward the violation of right, which that nomination would cause to him, as well as to the Church of Canterbury. Pascal acknowledged his injustice. For in the letter, which in 1102, he sent by the royal ambassadors to Anselm, he concludes as follows, "We also expressly establish and confirm to thee thy Primacy, as it was possessed by thy predecessors, whilst we also personally add, that as long as God maintaineth to thee that authority, thou shalt never be responsible to a legate,

(1) Hist. Nov. III. 59. Quapropter sicut venit, ita reversus est, a nemine pro Legato susceptus, nec in aliquo Legati officio functus.

(2) Ep. IV. 2.

but immediately to ourselves." But a mere personal privilege was not satisfactory to Anselm. Therefore on his second visit to Rome, in 1103, he induced the Pope to confer this privilege on the Church of Canterbury, and on the 16th of November, followed the Bull mentioned above.⁽¹⁾ "At thy request," such is the language, "we confirm to thee, as well as to all thy legitimate successors, the primacy, and the other dignities and privileges, which belong to the Church of Canterbury, in the way in which the same have been possessed by thy predecessors, since the time of St. Augustine, with papal approbation." Such is the explicit tenor of this Bull: although it makes no mention of the right of legation, at least not expressly, and if during Anselm's time, no other legate was in fact sent to England, yet this occurred under his successors, especially when that Guido became Pope, under the title of Calixtus II. (1119). Until at length, Honorius II. (1126) expressly conceded this right to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The restoration and maintenance of the authority of the Primacy against higher and lower power, was only to Anselm the means to an end. It was his object to elevate the whole condition of the Church, and in order not to be in any way checked in this attempt, he insisted so much on freedom, both in an ecclesiastical and political point of view. A general reformation of discipline was the great end towards which he steered, and in which he wished the English Episcopate to co-operate with combined power. He therefore from

(1) This is the privilegium which he had sent to Ernulf to copy. Ep. IV. 40.

the commencement, pressed for the convocation of a territorial synod, which assembled in 1102.⁽¹⁾ It was held in St. Peter's Church, Westminster, and, with the exception of Osbern of Exeter, all the Bishops and Abbots of England, and the lay-peers attended. At this synod, his attention was above all things, directed to the discipline of the Clergy. The Clergyman, generally purchased not so much the office, as the benefice, then married, had children, sought to provide for them, especially for the sons to succeed him in his living, engaged in worldly business, farmed estates, carried on law suits, frequented clubs, assumed worldly attire, and represented any thing, rather than the spiritual order. The synod now encountered all these excesses. It not only prohibited simony, under the severest penalties; but, as we have seen, enforced the statute by an example, and at once deposed six Abbots, who had purchased their offices. It moreover renewed the antient ordinances against the marriage of the Clergy. In future, no one was to be ordained, only to the office of sub-deacon, without taking the vow of celibacy, and in order to constrain those who were married, to put away their wives, the synod declared that a married priest should not be accounted a "lawful" priest, nor read mass, or if he did, should not be listened to. An additional prescript followed, "that

(2) The resolutions were adopted with too much haste, sine præmeditatione ac competenti tractatione sunt prolatae (sententiæ capitulorum concilii). Ep. III. 62. IV. 15. 40. We only possess a summary of the resolutions, and not the "expositiones sententiarum." These Anselm wished to revise with the assembled Bishops, but went abroad before he could accomplish his design. Hist. Nov. III. 63.

priests' sons should never inherit the Churches of their fathers." How little the Clergy were concerned for the office, but only for the revenue, is shewn by the further prohibition, "Archdeaconries shall not be farmed." Their worldly occupations were thus restrained, "No Clergyman shall be bailiff, procurator, or judex sanguinis." The Bishops also must renounce the "administration of temporal courts," which probably related to their participation in county tribunals, at which formerly, spiritual and temporal causes were pleaded, and were held conjointly by the Bishops and Earls, from which, however, William the Conqueror had excluded spiritual affairs, and transferred them to the peculiar court of the Bishops. Yet the antient custom probably yet prevailed in some places, and rendered that injunction necessary, which especially inculcated on the Bishops to conduct themselves "not as laymen, but as spiritual persons." With the same view all clergy were reminded of "the dress⁽¹⁾ of their order," which prohibited the participation in "drinking clubs and the frequenting of taverns," and the Abbots were admonished "to create no knights." Amongst the Clergy, the chaplains residing in the castles and houses of the peers were most irregular and difficult to be superintended. To prevent their increase (they were already too numerous) the synod ordained, that new chapels should only be erected with the approval of the Bishop; and in order to diminish the number of the

(1) Ut vestes clericorum sint unius coloris, et calceamenta ordinata—
Ut clerici patentes coronas habeant.

middle clergy, (therefore dependent and not seldom forced to unseemly acts) that no church should be consecrated before a provision had been made for the support of its parson.

Against two abuses Anselm contended with peculiar zeal, viz., simony and the marriage of the clergy. With what strictness he acted with regard to the former is shewn by the decided refusal which he once gave to Queen Matilda when she requested him to confirm in his dignity, a monk of Winchester named Edulf, whom she had nominated to an Abbey in her patronage in the monastery of Malmesbury. He writes back, that he could not do this, because Edulf had sent to him together with hers and other letters of recommendation, a cup, (scyphum) which he naturally must refuse, and which had greatly annoyed him on account of his sinful motive. Edulf was in fact not made Abbot. As here, so also in reference to the marriage of the Clergy, Anselm had no indulgence; for he regarded it as utterly incompatible with the administration of the sacred office. His theory was generally recognized: but in practice the contrary had been so prevalent, that Henry of Huntingdon (about 1150) calls the resolution of the London synod something entirely new.⁽¹⁾

With regard to lay discipline, nothing was of more urgent necessity than to check the prevailing immorality.

(1) Fox's M. 1 248. Anselmus prohibuit uxores sacerdotibus Angliæ ante non prohibitas. Henry Hunt. Fuller, Ch. Hist., 291, remarks "so much for the constitutions of that synod, wherein though Canons were provided for priests 'cap a pie' from the shaving to the shoes, yet not a syllable of their instructing the people and preaching God's word unto them."

By the Conquest, all restraint had been removed from the passions of the Normans, and they indulged in the wildest excesses and licentiousness. Under such a deadness to moral impressions, incestuous marriages were not unfrequent, even with the most distinguished Normans: yet such alliances were so obnoxious to the Church, that the prohibitions extended to the seventh degree of relationship. Anselm supported this rigorous system: he considered it as a characteristic of the Gospel morality, to advance in this respect, beyond that of the Old Testament, and urged the prohibitions of marriages within the six first degrees of consanguinity. The synod supported him, and not only the solemnization of future marriages of this kind, but the continuance of those already contracted, was forbidden as "Incest." All who were privy to such marriages, and did not inform, were accounted as accomplices. But with all their rude and uncivilized habits, there prevailed amongst them the greatest degree of lax effeminacy. The pride of the conquerors, had in the second generation, sunk into a love of dress and ornaments. Eadmer tells us "At court the young men were accustomed to allow the growth of their hair, carefully comb and curl it, advanced rather tripping than walking, in order not to disturb their beautiful head dress." "They emulated each other," says William of Malmesbury, "in the length of the points of their shoes, in the gold and silver chains which dangled from the knee, in the birds' beaks which adorned their clasps, &c." Anselm deemed it expedient to encounter this effeminacy. He censured the long hair of the men, as a violation of the apostoli-

cal precept. It caused great astonishment, when in the first year of his episcopacy, at the beginning of Lent, he preached against these absurdities, and gave notice that he would admit none to the reception of the "cineres," who had long hair. However objectionable his censure was at first, yet many adopted this "manly step," and cut off their superfluous hair. Anselm persevered in his yearly sermon, and obtained from the synod a statute, "that those who had long hair, (viz. such as would not at least cut off so much, that their eyes and ears might be visible,) should in future not be admitted into the Churches. The officiating Clergy were to make serious remonstrances with those who appeared in Church with this head dress, and admonish them to absent themselves until they had been shorn. Anselm himself gave a striking example, by enforcing such an exclusion, before the assembled court at Easter, 1103.

But the depressed condition of the Anglo-Saxons forms the most striking contrast to the luxurious habits of the Normans. Vanquished, impoverished, degraded, and ill-treated, they lived apart in gloomy melancholy, and pined away at the recollection of bygone days. With enthusiastic piety they cherished the memorials of the last warriors for their freedom, and honoured their reliques and the scenes of their deeds and sufferings with a superstitious and censurable reverence. The name of the Earl Waltheof was held by them in especial veneration: he was the son of Siward, who for a long time had boldly resisted the Normans, but at length submitted to the Conqueror, and afterwards remained

faithful to him. Nevertheless, on account of his accidental participation in a Festival where a conspiracy had been hatched against the Conqueror, of which he immediately gave notice, he was most unjustly executed. This occurred in the year 1075, and yet a quarter of a century later, in the time of Anselm, the mourning for this political victim was so deep, that in the Convent of Nuns at Rumsey,⁽¹⁾ which was not far from the place of his execution, the memory of it was kept as of the death of a martyr, with oblations to his honour, &c. The son of the condemned Waltheof had settled in the neighbourhood, and was accustomed to tarry for hours together in a kneeling posture at the grave of his father. Yet with all his commiseration for the mournful lot of the poor Anglo-Saxons, Anselm could not endure such a custom of heathen worship. Under the penalty of an interdict, he prohibited Anheliz,⁽²⁾ the Abbess of the Convent, from every service of the kind, commanded the removal of the son of the departed, and sent the Archdeacon Stephen⁽³⁾ to Rumsey, to carry out the fulfilment of his command. Similar occurrences might have been frequent, and through the heathenish customs introduced by the Danes during their settlement in England, the Anglo-Saxon population had been carried to a degree of fanaticism of a very dangerous character. Anselm was

(1) According to Ingulph's Hist. Crowl. p. 72. the body of Waltheof was buried in Crowland. The "tumba" at Rumsey could only have been a memorial of his execution which took place before the gates of Winchester.

(2) Ep. IV. 9.

(3) Ep. III. 51. *Filium autem ipsius mortui propellite a villa: nec amplius conversetur in illa.*

resolved to check it, and at the London Synod the ordinance was issued, not to bestow holy honours on dead bodies, fountains, and other things without the permission of the Bishop.

But all these disciplinarian measures would have no result until the general disposition became more serious, more pious, more pure. Therefore the chief anxiety of Anselm was for an entire revival of the religious mind, and since here only the practical example could effect the right impression, he had nothing more at heart than a reformation of the English monasteries. For these, according to his view should be the hearths of light and life, which most perfectly represented Christian piety, and forming and edifying by their example, worked back upon the world. He therefore devoted all his attention to the monastic institutions. His Epistles shew that he was in more frequent communication with Abbots and Monks, than with Bishops and the Clergy, and his highest pastoral efficiency and government are here immediately brought before us.

It was his first object to look out for more exemplary Superiors for the Monasteries. How necessary this was, and how secularized the Abbots had become, amongst other things, is shewn by an ordinance of the Synod, that they should "again eat and sleep again with their monks," so far had they withdrawn themselves from all monastic communion. Their nomination by the King was the source of this secularization, and amongst other important results of the Investiture-strife for Anselm, the restoration to the Monasteries of the right of free election was not the least. We have

already seen that he did not wait for the end of this controversy, in order to proceed against unworthy Abbots who had permitted themselves to be forcibly intruded into cloisters. Three such Abbots were deposed by the Synod. The Epistles of Anselm give us a more intimate knowledge of one of these, and of his energetic efforts in behalf of oppressed Monasteries.

But before I proceed to this relation, I will introduce a letter on the same subject, which he wrote when Abbot of Bec, to the younger Lanfranc (the nephew of the Archbishop). He had been misled against Anselm's express will, to force himself as Abbot into the monastery of St. Vandrille (1088) supported, it seems, by temporal authority, but without being elected by the resident monks.⁽¹⁾ "I, the brother Anselm, thy friend, thy counsellor, and by divine appointment and thine own choice, thy Abbot, entreat, admonish, and adjure thee in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou readest not once, twice, and three times with the deepest attention, this my faithful epistle, but in the sight of the omnipotent Judge before whom thou standest at all times, ponder what I write. And if thou shouldest be unwilling to peruse it, I conjure him who does read it, by his own responsibility in the great Day of Judgment, that he conceal not the contents of the same. In private and frequently, thou knowest that I have declared to thee, that I will never approve of thy nomination to the Abbotship, and that if thou acceptest that office, will use every effort, that no Bishop should

(1) An. Ep. II, 42.

consecrate thee. Yet I could not for a moment suppose that this emergency would take place. And now—it has actually occurred. O! it is terrible! Thou first, and through thee, the whole congregation; and before all, I, thy blushing father, and she, our Church, thy mother, ‘we are become a reproach to our neighbours, a scorn and derision to them that are round about us.’ (Psalm lxxix. 4.) An example is now given to all who wish to destroy and disgrace the Church of God, and in our days and in this country, thou hast become their leader. Let me ever thus speak, my son: for it is not the indignation of hate, it is the pain of love, that gives itself utterance. The sorrowing brother, the discarded pastor, the mourning father hastens to him who is rushing to destruction, to call him back from its brink. Yea, come my son, come back; collect thyself, give place to reflection. Thou hast not chosen the counsel of God, but that which the Lord will bring to nought. ‘For the Lord casteth out the counsel of princes, but the counsel of the Lord standeth for ever.’ (Psalm xxxiii., 9 & 10.) Not Christ who is the truth, hath appointed thee to this office, but thine own inclination, and the inconsiderate will of those who understand not what belongeth to God. Recollect that ‘he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber. (St. John x., 1.) The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy.’ My son, thou hast not entered through the door, because not through Christ, and not through Christ, because not through the truth, and not through the truth, because not in order,

The Abbot obtains his office from obedience and the election of the brothers. Now ask thyself whether thou hast received the Abbotship from obedience: and if thou must answer, no, if thou hast not entered in through the door, O! it pains me to express it, but reflect with thyself, in what way, and wherefore the Lord declares thou must have come in?" Anselm also wrote to the Monks of St. Vandrille. He expresses his grief at what had taken place, and exhorts them not to lose their courage but be mindful of the words of the Apostle, "count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations, knowing this, that the trial of your faith worketh patience, but let patience have her perfect work." (James i., 2-4.) Lanfranc appears to have been obedient; for we afterwards find him again amongst the monks of Bec.

As Archbishop, he had to exert the same zeal and vigor against the election of an improper candidate to a Monastery. This was Robert, the son of Hugo, Earl of Chester, who had been brought up in the cloister of St. Evroul, in Normandy, and whom Henry, assuredly only to attach the father to his interests, at his coronation, (1100) had nominated to the Abbey of St. Edmund's, Suffolk: but the young man was entirely undisciplined and uneducated. Roger, the Abbot of St. Evroul, (1091-1125) had approved of the promotion of his pupil, and together with some of his monks, had accompanied him to England in order to settle him in the Abbey.

The monks of Saint Edmund's employed every effort to oppose him. But Robert had encamped with a body of the King's troops within the Abbey, and wished to force the monks to elect him. Anselm was

indignant when he heard of it. He at once dispatched letters to Roger and Robert, in which he most earnestly exhorts them to abstain from their rash undertaking. "It is true indeed," he addresses Robert, "I cannot prevent the King, my master, from assigning to you the temporal possessions of the cloister, but over the souls to which the office and name of Abbot have reference, no one else can appoint you, but he to whom God hath given authority to bind and to loose, and I never will entrust the least power of the kind to you, but rather call upon God, that he may turn the heart of the King to do that which is pleasing to him, and revoke that which he hath done against him." At the same time he wrote to William, Archbishop of Rouen, as the Superior of Roger, that he would constrain him to recall his monk, who was so little fitted to guide others, that hitherto "he was not allowed to walk without a watchman with a lantern."⁽¹⁾ And when William delayed, he conjured him in a second letter, in the strongest terms to interpose all his authority that the Cloister of St. Edmund's might be rescued from this "young ⁽²⁾ wolf," which would deprive the Church of her property, and the people of the Church. He should rouse the whole of Normandy against the Abbot of St. Evroul, who "to the disdain of God, and the disgrace of the monastic order," had committed such an offence. A ⁽³⁾third letter followed, but all without effect. For William could do nothing, because Roger pretended that Robert had not entered at St. Evroul, but in St. Sever⁽⁴⁾ (a monastery

(1) Ep. IV., 20.

(2) Ep. III., 68.

(3) Ep. IV., 22.

(4) Ep. III., 68.

in Gascogny or the Adour) and belonged to the latter cloister, and that in England the intruder was protected by the King. Anselm must now confine himself to the spiritual support of the monks of St. Edmund's, and this was done by him with the most affecting condescension. A list of letters proves how he equally undertook their pastoral guidance, and supplied the deficiency of an Abbot. He at once expressed his joy that they had not resisted force with force, but had entrusted their case to God alone, who would not suffer them to be tried beyond their strength. "It is a grace to suffer for righteousness sake. And if you are exposed to human judgment, for the sake of righteousness, I counsel you to regard it, according to your sorrows, as a divine judgment for the punishment of your sins, and that every one examine himself, and seek to propitiate God, by the sincere fruits of repentance. Let every one impute to himself what you conjointly suffer, and thereby call down the grace of God upon himself and the rest, 'Return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith the Lord.' (Mal. iii. 7.)"⁽¹⁾ In a second⁽²⁾ letter, he praises them on account of their steadfastness in suffering, and once more exhorts them, in proportion to its continuance and severity, the more seriously to apply it to themselves, the more strictly to observe their rules, the more diligently to confess to their Prior (Elfer). At the conclusion, he himself offers them absolution. He afterwards thus addresses them in a third letter,⁽³⁾ "It

(1) Ep. III. 61. comp. III. 101.

(2) Ep. III. 118.

(3) Ep. IV. 21.

is right, that you will not suffer an Abbot to be obtruded upon you, in contradiction to your order, in contradiction to the rule of St. Benedict, in contradiction to the authority of so many holy fathers, and without the counsel of those who are to advise and guide in matters of religion. God seeth it, and will assuredly help you in his own time, if you humbly bow yourselves under his fatherly chastisement, and are not weary in hoping for his mercy; yet rely not merely upon prayers, but also on directing your conversation at all times and in every place, with your whole heart and with all your strength, according to his commandments, and the prescriptions of your order. It is called indeed, but a sorry consolation, which only consists of words, without the appliance of further aid: but the servants of God, who set their hopes on him, must gladly be reprov'd by him, for they know that tribulation with him always endeth in joy." The monks endured the severe trial for two long years. At length in 1102, Anselm succeeded on the occasion of that general purification, which the synod decreed, also to remove this Robert; and that other Robert, mentioned above,⁽¹⁾ was elected in his stead.

Anselm not only protected the elections, but also the other privileges of the monasteries even against the

(1) The Epistle IV. 78, has reference to this Robert, with whom Anselm had not been on the best terms, because, although canonically elected, he had received Investiture from the King. His consecration therefore did not take place until 1107. The Epistle was probably written shortly before the journey mentioned (page 192) in which Anselm communicated to the monks his reconciliation with Robert.

Bishops.⁽¹⁾ As an example I may mention his intercession on behalf of the monks of the small cell of Battle Abbey, in Exeter, whom the Bishop of that place wished to constrain to the use of the divine ordinances of the diocese. But Anselm insisted upon their retaining their own form (except when they had to officiate in the Cathedral) and afterwards obtained for them a Papal confirmation of their peculiar privilege.

The Primacy of Canterbury not only extended over England, but over Scotland, Ireland and the adjacent islands. Anselm therefore directed his attention to all these countries. Not long after his accession to the see, he addressed a letter to the (Arch) Bishop, Donald (Dofnald) of Armagh (1091-1105) and the other Bishops of Ireland, in which he informed them of his entrance on his office, and requested their sympathy and intercession in the great difficulties with which he had to struggle, but at the same time reminded them of their duties, and admonished them that in all cases of ecclesiastical emergency they should with confidence apply to him. This occurred soon after the death of Donatus, Bishop of Dublin. (1095.) With the consent of the King Murierdach (Murchertach) the clergy and people elected the sister's son of the deceased, a monk, Samuel of St. Albans, as his successor, and sent him

(1) Als Beispiel führe ich nur seine Intercession für die Mönche einer kleinen Cella der Battle-Abbey in Exeter an, die der dortige Bischof nothigen wollte, die gottesdienstlichen Einrichtungen der Diöces anzunehmen. Anselm aber drang darauf, dass sie bei ihrer weise gelassen wurden (ausser wenn sie in der Kathedrale zu fungiren hatten) und erwirkte ihnen später einen eigenen papstlichen Schutzbrief. See Dugdale. Monast. Ang. I. 315. Ans. Ep. III. 20. Hist. Nov. III. 62.

(juxta morem antiquum) to Anselm for consecration. Anselm approved of their choice, but kept him a long time with him in order to instruct him "how he ought to behave himself in the house of God," (1 Tim. iii, 15) and then consecrated him at Winchester, with the assistance of four suffragan Bishops, after he had taken the oath of canonical obedience towards the see of Canterbury.⁽¹⁾ In the Autumn of this year another embassy arrived from Ireland, which brought over the decree of the King, and his brother the Duke, Dermeth (of Leinster) as well as of the assembled episcopate of the Island. It contained a request to found a bishoprick in the town of Waterford, (Wataferdia) which was much wanted there on account of the abundant⁽²⁾ population. Eadmer gives us the "Commune Decretum," which is composed in the form of a letter from the clergy and people of Waterford to Anselm. They very candidly acknowledge that "the blindness of their uncertainty hath hitherto misled them, rather to withdraw themselves with slavish fear from the yoke of the Lord, than to submit themselves with free obedience to a shepherd

(1) Yet Anselm was shortly after obliged (1097) to reprove the Bishop on several subjects. "*Audivi, quod libros et vestimenta et alia ornamenta Ecclesiæ, quæ Lanfrancus dedit avunculo tuo ad opus Ecclesiæ,—pro voluntate tua exponis et ea extraneis das*"—"Item audivi, quod monachos qui in ipsa Ecclesia ad serviendum Deo congregati erant, expellas, et dispergas."—"Præterea audivi quod facis portari crucem ante te in via." The latter was a privilege only granted to the Archbishop. An. Ep. III. 72. IV. 27.

(2) *Jam enim multa sæcula transierant, in quibus eadem civitas absque providentia et cura Pontificali consistens per diversa temptationum pericula jactabatur.* Ead. H. N. 40.

Waterford was the principal landing-place of the Danes, and appears in former times to have had a Bishoprick.

of souls. But now they had convinced themselves how important the pastoral office was, since they had compared it with other things ; without a ruler no army could go to war, no ship abide in the sea. How also could their bark exposed to the floods of this world, venture without a shepherd against the subtle fiend ? Therefore they and their King and Duke had determined that a man of their people, the priest Malchus, should go to Winchester to petition for a bishoprick. They describe him (entirely in accordance with the pastoral epistle) as noble in birth and manners, imbued with the apostolical and ecclesiastical discipline, well instructed in the Catholic faith, moderate, chaste, sober, humble, friendly, compassionate, learned, (literatum) given to hospitality, ruleth well his own house, is no novice, and hath a good report amongst all ranks." Anselm joyfully acceded to their request, and after having carefully examined the candidate "in his quæ sacra jubet auctoritas," consecrated him on the 28th of December, 1096, at Canterbury, and received from him the profession of obedience. On his return from his first exile he hastened to introduce a reform of ecclesiastical discipline into Ireland. For this end he addressed a letter to King Murierdach,⁽¹⁾ in which he requests him to make use of the peace which at present prevailed in his kingdom, for the removal of several unseemly practices. He directed his attention especially to two points ; to the inconsiderate way in which marriages were contracted and dissolved, as well as to the general laxity of

(1) An. Ep. III, 142.

the sexual relations, and then to the uncanonical practices in the consecration of Bishops, who were neither consecrated in the right place, nor by the right persons, (namely, by Bishops alone without the assistance of an Archbishop.) In a second⁽¹⁾ letter he repeats this requisition. It is reported, he says, that in Ireland, the men frankly and freely exchange wives with each other, "as one bargains for oxen or other things," and that merely of their own inclination, and without any cause, they put them away. This is a grievous immorality, an "infame negotium," which the King ought at the earliest opportunity to abolish.⁽²⁾ And with regard to the consecrations of Bishops, he particularly censured their indefiniteness, since they were not limited to a certain see or diocese, (the so called *ordinationes absolutas*) for a Bishop without a congregation is like a shepherd without a flock. And then on account of the little solemnity with which these consecrations were conducted. For one Bishop often consecrated another, as one would induct an Incumbent, when at each consecration, three Bishops at least were requisite, for the sake of the necessary surety which the congregation should have of the faith and life of their pastor. The King promised to comply with the wishes of Anselm.

(1) An. Ep. III. 147. In this letter he says "si igitur excellentia vestra divinarum scripturarum sententias, quæ huic infami negotio obviant, per se legere non valet, præcipite Episcopis et religiosis clericis qui in vestro regno sunt ut eas vobis edicant," &c.

(2) Hieronymus adv. Jovin. lib. II. says "Scotorum (Hibernorum) natio uxores proprias non habet et quasi Platonis politiam legerit et Catonis sectetur exemplum, nulla apud eos conjux est propria, sed ut cuique libitum fuerit, pecudum more lascivunt."

What lively interest Ireland took in the Investiture Controversy, (although it was not so important there as in England, since the old mode of election on the whole prevailed) is shewn in a letter of Bishop Giselbert of Clunis (Cloyne) to Anselm, in which he congratulates him that the "*indomitæ Normannorum mentes*" had at length submitted to the "*regularibus SS. Patrum decretis*," and as a mark of his joy on the occasion, sends him twenty-five "*margaretulas (inter optimas et viliores.)*"⁽¹⁾ Anselm accepted the present, but ceased not to admonish the Bishop heartily to devote his attention to the state of morals in Ireland, and be unceasing in his prayers and representations to the King and Bishops, until a reformation was effected.⁽²⁾

We have little information of Anselm's relations to Scotland. Yet the epistle remains to us which in 1106 he wrote to King Alexander (the brother of ⁽³⁾Matilda) on his coronation. As the best counsel he can give him, he recommends him the fear of God, and to preserve the good, pious morals which he had imbibed in his youth, through the help of her from whom he had received them.⁽⁴⁾ "For Kings reign well when they live according to the will of God, and serve him in fear, when they have command over themselves and are not subject to their passions, but curb their impetuosity with a courageous mind. Steadfastness in virtue and kingly bravery are in no way contradictory. Kings, like David, have lived piously and yet have

(1) Ep. IV. 86.

(2) Ep. III. 143.

(3) Ep. III. 132.

(4) He was the son of the pious Margaret mentioned page 139.

governed their people with the severity of justice, or with the mildness of mercy, as either might be requisite. Conduct yourself so that the evil may fear and the good love you: and in order that your life may continually please God, keep ever in view, that he will at some time punish the wicked and reward the good." There is also another letter⁽¹⁾ of Anselm's extant, to the Earl of the "Orcades," (which were then under the power of Norway) Haco, in which he expresses his joy to have heard from their present Bishop⁽²⁾ that he (Haco) willingly received the word of God, and adopted salutary advice for the good of his soul. The same he should now endeavour to promote amongst his people, who, from want of teachers, had hitherto been so ignorant of Christianity. For you could do nothing better to cover the multitude of your sins, and to attain eternal life, than exert all diligence for the conversion of your people to Christianity.

(1) Ep. IV. 92.

(2) Olaf Tryggveson had induced the inhabitants of the Orcades to be baptized, in 905. But first under Lanfranc (see his Epp. II. 12) and by the exertions of their Earl [Jarls] Paul (see Guill. Malm. de gg. RR. l. v. p. 91. ap. Savil. Ed. Lond.) they received a Bishop in the person of a certain Radulf, who probably lived in the time of Anselm.

CHAPTER THE THIRTEENTH.

ANSELM'S DIOCESAN GOVERNMENT.

We have directed our attention to Anselm as Primate and Archbishop : let us now consider him as Bishop. According to the existing constitution of the Church, the Episcopal government was two-fold—spiritual and temporal. For the Bishop was at the same time lord of the soil, had the administration of the property of the Church, and this administration was also of importance for the spiritual welfare of the Diocese, because most of the appointments relating to it were supported by the income of that property.

When Anselm entered on the government of the See, its estates were so deteriorated, and its subjects so impoverished by William Rufus, that he had difficulty in acquiring possession of them. At Michaelmas, 1093, he was established in the Archbishoprick, but when he wished to draw the income from Michaelmas to Christ-

mas, it appeared that the King had already received it, and nothing remained but to anticipate as far as he could the following quarter. He endeavoured by economy to prevent the forestalling of his income, and that the rents and other payments should not be made before they were actually due. This he accomplished in the third year of his administration, when that extraordinary contribution was levied upon him mentioned above (p. 105) and by which the finances of the see were again thrown into disorder. In the following year he was exiled, and the King confiscated the Archbishoprick for three years. During the whole of this time he did not receive the least income from England, and as he was not always willing to be burdensome to the people with whom he and his companions lived, he was constrained to contract debts abroad. On his return in 1100, he found the see as impoverished as at the first time, and moreover these debts annoyed him, since as Eadmer says, "almost daily, creditors came from the Continent and wished to be paid." After two years, in 1103, his second exile commenced, which also continued above three years, and although he received the income of the see ⁽¹⁾during the first year, yet it ceased in the beginning of 1104. He received it again about the middle of 1105, and as he lived about three years longer, his debts were scarcely liquidated at the time of his death.

Eadmer⁽²⁾ gives us this review of the economical relations of Anselm, in order to clear him from a reproof

(1) An. Ep. IV. 29-33.

(2) H. Nov. V. 85.

which has been frequently made against him, that he had done so little for the ecclesiastical buildings. But he asks, under these circumstances, how could he engage in "earthly buildings," who had to struggle with such embarrassments? Yet, he adds, the buildings were not neglected, only he, "unenvious as he was, and undisturbed about worldly fame," gave them over to the monks (the Chapter) of the Cathedral. For he paid the greatest attention to their maintenance, and conscientiously separated from the collective funds of the Archbishoprick, that portion⁽¹⁾ which was destined for them (and the Church), and gave full liberty to the Prior and the brothers, to dispose of, and expend it as they wished. They were thus enabled to make better arrangements for the management of the property of the see, *e. g.* to purchase back from the laity, estates claimed as hereditary fees, and to carry on, in more magnificent style, the new buildings of the Cathedral, commenced by Lanfranc;⁽²⁾ and especially, more richly to provide for its internal decorations. In fact, the whole East wing, from the high tower, was completed under Anselm, (*quantum a majore turri in orientem porrectum est*) and William of Malmesbury says, that, "as far as relates to the panes of the windows, the painting of the roof, and the marble of the pavement, the Church was

(1) Gregory the great had ordered the ecclesiastical revenues to be divided into four portions. "Una videlicet Episcopo et familie propter hospitalitatem atque susceptionem: alia Clero: tertia pauperibus: quarta Ecclesia reparandis. Bede. I. 27.

(2) In 1068 the Cathedral had been destroyed by fire, and was re-built within seven years by Lanfranc. Ead. Hist. Nov. I. 36.

not equalled in England.”⁽¹⁾ Yet it was not enough for Anselm, by these economical arrangements, to provide for the structure of the fabric, but he also contributed from his own income, (ex his quæ in dominio suo possidebat,) and appropriated to the building fund,⁽²⁾ one half of the offerings at the high altar, as well as some estates which had formerly belonged to the portion of the monks, but subsequently had been applied to other purposes, he also presented the Church with a number of beautiful vestments and other ornaments, and after his return from his second exile, he made over to them the pence (denarios), which it had been the custom to pay yearly at Easter, from the parochial Churches to the mother Church, and had hitherto been considered as the private income of the Bishops.⁽³⁾ Anselm not only conscientiously provided for the monks and the Church, but also for the poor. For a part of the income of the Archbishoprick was devoted to them, and one monk was expressly employed as “Eleemosynarius” in the administration of these funds.⁽⁴⁾ In several epistles, which contain demands for money, Anselm always inculcates, that nothing should be extorted from the poor.⁽⁵⁾ And for their support, he was always ready

(1) (Ernulfus) dejectam priorem partem ecclesiæ quam Lanfrancus ædificaverat, adeo splendide erexit, ut nihil tale in Angliâ possit videri in vitrearum fenestrarum luce, in marmorei pavimenti nitore in diversicoloribus picturis qua mirantes oculos trahunt ad fastigia lacunar. Hist. Nov. V. 85. De gg. P.P. I. 11.

(2) Ep. III. 78.

(3) Ep. III. 117.

(4) Ep. III. 26.

(5) Ep. IV. 28-33. 56.

with extraordinary contributions from his own income. In the same letters we read *e. g.* orders for the payment of twenty marks silver to one; to another, two; to a third, twenty solidi denariorum, &c.⁽¹⁾ In a letter from Bec, 1105,⁽²⁾ he recommends to the Prior Ernulf, and to the Archdeacon William, a Jew named Robert, who "for the sake of Christ had deserted his elders and the law," and says that William should devote the part of the revenue of the archdeaconry belonging to him (the Archbishop) for the support of the Jew and his little family, that the latter may directly "acknowledge that our faith stands nearer to God than that of the Jews."

Many of the epistles of Anselm shew the difficulties which he had to encounter as temporal lord of the see under Henry I., who yet maintained a certain degree of right and order; we may then imagine what hardships he endured under William Rufus, who not only kept possession of the greater part of the Archiepiscopal territories until the year 1095, and always vented his displeasure against Anselm upon his people, but also by his example encouraged the neighbouring peers in like encroachments and vexations, so that the earlier supporters of Anselm in order to acquire the favor of the King, became his opponents, and if they had previously made donations to the Church, they now on the other hand committed exactions, and acquired

(1) Ead. H. N. V. 8-6. Ep. IV. 61. "Detractores itaque tam magnifici benefactoris Ecclesiæ Christi parcant, obsecro, linguæ suæ, parcant, obsecro, animæ suæ.

(2) An. Ep. III, 117.

estates, horses, money, &c. Nor was it enough, says Eadmer, that this⁽¹⁾ happened from strangers; his own people of the see endeavoured to enrich themselves at its cost, and abused the good nature of Anselm. At first he took no umbrage when requisitions were brought before him with even any appearance of right, and believed every thing that was told him. In vain⁽²⁾ Osbern had admonished him to be on his guard: in vain Baldwin and other confidential persons made representations to him. It was extremely difficult for him to be offended with any one: he placed the fullest reliance upon every one, and if warning was given him, he usually answered, "truly they are Christian men, who would not wittingly lie, and do to another what they would not wish to be done unto them."—And if he was told that all men did not think as he did, then he replied, "I had rather be deceived in esteeming those good, who are not so, than deceive myself, in regarding those as wicked, of whom at least I am ignorant that they are so." Yet, Eadmer says, in time he acquired more foresight, when he learnt to perceive that his credulity contributed to the injury of the Church. For he had for a long time experienced the evil results of the too great confidence which at first he placed in petitioners or claimants. Yet he consoled his complaining friends with the reflection that ill-gotten wealth never prospers, and assured them that the deceiver was more to be pitied than the deceived. His great conscientiousness also prevented him from

(1) De Vit. An. II. 16.

(2) An. Ep. III. 2.

reproving his people with sufficient severity ; for if he found fault with them, and they attempted any kind of explanation, he would rather remain silent from fear of doing them harm, than carry on the contest. But he avoided nothing with more extreme care, than only not to be guilty of the least injustice. " I have often heard him say, that if he had to choose between sin and hell, he had rather accept the latter than the former ; for he would more willingly go to hell with a pure conscience, than into heaven with a polluted one, for this would then become a hell to him, as in the former case hell would be heaven."⁽¹⁾ Not only this scrupulosity, but also his patience and mildness brought him great detriment. It was incredible to what an extent, he endeavoured to overcome evil with good. According to William of Malmesbury, he once confessed to a friend, that since he had left the Monastery, he only recollected one occasion on which he had been overcome by anger, and given way to an expression of reproach (convicium) and Eadmer says, his friends had often remarked, that he was more adapted for a Monk, than an Archbishop by such submissiveness of conduct.⁽²⁾ " It was altogether incomprehensible to us, that he did not more frequently introduce Ecclesiastical discipline, since by neglect of it, wickedness only acquired confidence, but truly when he

(1) Fuller in his Church Hist. alludes to this passage, vol. 1, 230 :—
" Indeed some high-flown expressions often knock at the door of blasphemy, but yet not with any intention to enter in thereat. Amongst those may this of Anselm's be ranked, uttered no doubt in a zealous detestation of sin : yea, which charitably may be defended in the very letter thereof."

(2) Ead. Vit. Ans. 16.

explained to us his reasons (for he was accessible for the lowest to converse with him) we clearly perceived that he could not well have acted otherwise, yea ought not, if he wished to keep the narrow path of true wisdom."

That worldly occupations were anything but agreeable to him, may easily be imagined. He therefore endeavoured, as far as a sense of duty would allow him to be released from them, whilst *e.g.* as we have already mentioned, he committed in great measure the administration of the income of the see, to the monks who formed his Chapter, and the conduct of his own household (*totam domus suæ curam et dispositionem*) to his intimate friend, Baldwin of Tournay. But the judicial, and similar functions must be discharged by himself in person, and this he considered the most irksome part of his office. He oftentimes became really unwell, when he was unsuccessful in his attempts to reconcile contending parties. He then fell into the deepest melancholy, and "we who were acquainted with his disposition, were accustomed in such cases, to lead him away from the assembly for a while, and restore him with a passage of Scripture, a Theological question, or some other such spiritual antidote. We occasionally asked him, how it happened, that he who was such a vigorous man, became so weakly and faint-hearted, then he replied, 'Yea, in this respect he was altogether a child, and as the latter is affrighted,⁽¹⁾ if a mask is held before it, or when, at the time of weaning, it finds the mother's breast overspread with a bitter

(1) Vit. Ans. 16.

liquid, so he is disgusted with his office, when he is suddenly brought into contact with the world, and must look it in the face'." He likened himself to an owl, which is only well, when it is with its young ones in the hole; but if it must come out amongst crows, and ravens, sees nothing on all sides but pecking beaks, and knows not where to turn.⁽¹⁾

By this hole, he meant the monastery of the Cathedral: for there "he drew breath," when he returned from the judicial and Court days. His spiritual government therefore had its principal relation to this monastery, which formed the centre of the whole Diocese, the seminary of its spirituality. In the school connected with it, the Clergy were educated, and if they were not necessarily obliged to join the body of monks; yet, in order to obtain a spiritual appointment in the Diocese, this was the rule. The pastoral and most of the other clerical offices were supplied from thence, and the elder monks formed the Chapter of the Archbishop, who made use of their counsel and support, in all general transactions. This was a very antient institution: for it originated with St. Augustine, whom Gregory the Great had recommended to live in monastic communion with his clergy, so that the *vita canonica* in Canterbury, and from thence in the other Dioceses in England, had been introduced two hundred years before Chrodegang. In the time of the Danes, these minsters had much

(1) Vit. An. 14. Eadmer adds, "Deum testor me sæpe illum sub veritatis testimonio audisse protestantem, quod libentius vellet in congregatione monachorum pueri loco inter pueros, sub virga magistri pavere, quam—toti Britannię prælatus in conventu populorum Cathedrę pontificali præsidere.

fallen off, and in many respects become like the Dom Chapters on the Continent; but Dunstan,⁽¹⁾ with a powerful hand, had restored them to order; and a fresh attempt, which was made by the Bishops, appointed by William the Conqueror, to introduce the worldly Dom jurisdiction into England, viz. into Canterbury, was checked by the firmness of Lanfranc.⁽²⁾ Yet the discipline in the Minster at Canterbury had suffered much during the vacancy of four years after his death. Anselm soon after his entrance on his office was obliged to issue a sharp letter to the members of the Convent, in which he admonishes them of their duties towards their superiors, the Prior and Sub-Prior,⁽³⁾ and afterwards we find him occasionally writing to individual Monks, who had escaped from the Cloister, and whom he conjures with paternal earnestness to return, if yet "a vein of obedience is in them."⁽⁴⁾ That he now used his utmost endeavours to elevate and improve both externally and internally this Cloister, which was at the same time the chapter and seminary, it is not necessary to prove. Above all things he was anxious to provide able Superiors. On his accession to the Archbishoprick, the above-mentioned Henry filled the office of Prior; but he was shortly after appointed Abbot of Battle Abbey, and was succeeded by the more frequently mentioned Ernulf, a man of great abilities, much experience, and honest zeal. He was born at Beauvais, and there first entered into the Monastery of

(1) Lingard. *Antiq.* II. 288.

(2) *Hist. Nov.* I. 33.

(3) *An. Ep.* III. 29.

(4) *Ep.* III. 102-144.

St. Symphoriani, but by the advice of Lanfranc, whose instruction he enjoyed for a long time at Bec, he left the Monastery, because "he must see things which he could not alter and ought not to endure," and afterwards went to Canterbury where he remained a plain monk until the time of Anselm. The latter promoted him to be Prior of the Minster, and the confidence which Anselm placed in him, speaks for the abilities of the man, without taking into account the commendations bestowed upon him by Ivo of Chartres, William of Malmesbury and others. In 1107, he was made Abbot of Peterborough, and Anselm was long in doubt whom to elect in his place, until in 1108 that Conrad⁽¹⁾ was made Prior, whom we mentioned above (page 210), and who also enjoyed the general esteem of his contemporaries. A certain Antonius was Sub-Prior during the whole of the Pontificate of Anselm, whom he once praises on account of his zeal for discipline, and only intreats him not to carry it on with too much severity, and not to inflict punishment merely on ⁽²⁾suspicion.— One Walter was selected from the teachers to instruct the nephew of Anselm.⁽³⁾

Anselm next endeavoured to supply the Monastery with vigorous Monks. We are in possession of an epistle in which he requires a certain Warner to enter it: in a critical moment of his life he had resolved to become a Monk, but afterwards, as it seems, grew cold and delayed.⁽⁴⁾ He urges him the

(1) In 1115 he was Bishop of Rochester, and died 1124, in his 84th year.

(2) An. Ep. III. 21.

(3) Ep. IV. 52.

(4) Ep. III. 103.

more earnestly since "God had endowed him with science." He would now first be enabled to make a right use of it, and no more apply it to his own but to the honor of God, &c. But above all things he wished for educated monks. He ordered indeed that admission should be given to every one who felt an inward necessity, but especially to Clergymen if they were ⁽¹⁾ learned (literatos) and might be useful to the Church. As often as he could, he assembled the monks in the Chapter, and addressed them at one time with erudite, at another with edifying discourses. He encouraged this activity also in distant places. A number of letters during his second exile testify the earnestness and interest of his pastoral relationship to them. He thus writes from Bec, 1103,⁽²⁾ "Ye know, my dearest sons, what I desire from you, and what can supply me with consolation in my sorrow. If your hearts are continually susceptible of divine impressions, if you fulfil your vocation as true labourers in the vineyard of Christ—if by your conversation you shew that the world is crucified unto you, and you to the world—if you live not for yourselves, but for God, *i.e.* not for your own, but for the will of God—if you are cautious even in the least thing against offending God—if the strictness of your order is dear to you—if you cultivate peace with each other, and are obedient to your Prior, then you fulfil my heart's wish; you quicken, you comfort me. Let your thoughts and actions be directed to these things, if you would cause me joy, or rather, if you would obtain the approbation

(1) Ep. III. 80. IV. 40.

(2) Ep. III. 76.

of God. May his Spirit conduct you thereto, and thus at some time assure to you the blessed prospect of his glory." It is evident that a Monastery under such guidance must exercise an important influence. We perceive this from a letter to Ernulf, in which Anselm informs him of the entrance of several new ⁽¹⁾members. Not only boys and young men, as appears from this letter,⁽²⁾ pressed for admission, but also men of mature age, clergy from London and Beauvais, and even noblemen. But it is also clear from the same, that many again deserted the Cloister, on account of the strictness of its discipline. On this Anselm consoles the Prior: "it is no disgrace, but a praise of the Cloister, when it cannot retain people who desire not a holy, but a comfortable life," and at the same time he orders the expulsion of an incorrigible monk.

With the like carefulness as over the Minster, Anselm watched over the other Churches and Monasteries of the Diocese. He was almost continually on his "Visitation journeys," and according to "antient custom" he frequently changed his residence, so that he remained at Canterbury only the least portion of the year, and during the remainder, abode in different places, in order to be an eye-witness of the state of things, and either by his character or assistance, provide for every case of emergency. Some of his own monks always accompanied him on these journeys, and at places where he stopped, he invited the neighbouring Clergy to

(1) Ep. IV. 41.

(2) Ep. IV. 40. Adolescentiores et pueros precor ut singulos secrete et ex nostra parte dulciter salutes, &c.

meet him, in order to enquire into the condition of their parishes; he controlled the Provosts (*præpositos*) Archdeacons, and other officials of the Diocese, gave the necessary directions and orders, received different complaints, &c.

Besides, monks and clergymen continually came to him at their own charges from far and near, in order to consult him on Theological questions, take his opinion on cases of conscience, or to ask for his support in temporal affairs. The mass of business which he had daily to get through was so great, that those who did not wish for a private interview, were invited to his table and there received answers to their questions. "For he accounted all time as lost which he did not fill up with some holy occupation." Even his meals were opportunities for instructing and edifying others. If no guests were there, or subjects for conversation were wanting, then he had a passage from the scriptures read, and connected with it reflections and exhortations. But if he was in good spirits he held a kind of "dissertation" on the subject, and led the conversation himself. Yet it was most agreeable to him when he was requested by any one present to discuss some subject, from which an argument or a more deep investigation arose. Unfortunately Eadmer only gives us one specimen of this table talk, and as he acknowledges unimportant⁽¹⁾ (*levius*). A young monk once complained, that he had expressly forsaken the world

(1) Non quo ulla doctrinæ efficacia per hoc designetur, sed ut in quibus lingua ejus inter carnales epulas versari solita fuerit, paulisper intimetur. Ans. Vit. 14.

in order to employ himself entirely with spiritual things, and that now the Abbot had entrusted to his charge the temporal concerns of the monastery, so that although a monk, he was constantly occupied as a child of the world. But Anselm proved to him how, even the affairs of this world might be spiritually conducted. The life of man, he said, was like a mill erected on a rapid stream. And as the wheel turns in order to convert the fruit of the field into wholesome food, so also the daily course and actions of men were to prepare heavenly things from earthly. The ordinary men of the world are like the miller who pays no attention to his meal, but carelessly lets it fall into the stream, and in the evening has nothing for his subsistence : for they transact their business only for the sake of worldly gain, and the stream of time carries it away. Those who now and then attend Church, and give alms, but on the other hand frequent clubs, seek after posts of honor, &c., are like the miller who one while takes care of his meal, at another, suffers it to perish : for they are divided between God and the world. But the monastic state is that which only makes use of an earthly life, to gain from it meal for heaven. Nor does the monk merely accomplish this while he is employed in exercises of devotion, but also in worldly occupations in the right sense, *i.e.* not from inclination, but from obedience, not for the sake of gain, but for the fulfilment of a duty. Every mass which he neglects will be richly requited to him, if he carries on a process with strict conscientiousness, not only with regard to the Church, but also to her enemies, and obedience which is the cardinal virtue of a monk, makes every thing right.

The only recreation which Anselm allowed himself was that whenever he had a vacant hour, he withdrew himself into the " stillest corner of the apartment," and meditated (*cœlestibus studiis inhærebat*). For even as Archbishop he yet remained true to Theology, and the works which he from time to time published, were the fruits of his solitary reflections. Thus in the years 1093 and 1094, he composed his treatise "*de fide trinitatis et de incarnatione verbi*," and commenced the excellent work "*Cur Deus homo?*" which as we have seen, he finished at Sclavia. After his return from the first exile, he worked at his book "*de processione spiritus sancti*," and in the last year of his life, 1107-1108, he wrote his most solid treatises, "*de concordia præscientiæ, et prædestinationis et gratiæ Dei cum libero arbitrio*"⁽¹⁾

In the management of his Diocese, he had an efficient support in his nearest Episcopal neighbour, and the oldest friend of his youth, ⁽²⁾Gondulf, Bishop of Rochester.—Both Dioceses were in a certain degree one, since the Bishop of Rochester was a feodary of the See of Canterbury, and the appointed assistant of its Archbishop, a relationship which must become more intimate when both Prelates were friends. And Gondulf was one of the most active Bishops of his time, as is shewn by the fact, that on his entrance (1076) on the See, the minster (chapter) of Rochester consisted of only five members,

(1) In quo opere contra morem, moram in scribendo passus est, quoniam ex quo apud sanctum Edmundum fuerat infirmatus, donec præsentî vitæ superfuit, solito imbecillior corpore fuit. An. Vit. 25.


(2) The life of Gondulf is in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, II. 273.

and this number under his guidance, notwithstanding the vicinity of the more attractive minster of Canterbury under Lanfranc and Anselm, amounted to 60. Anselm therefore placed the fullest confidence in Gondulf. He not only entrusted him with the management of the Diocese, during his absence, but asked his advice on almost all occasions, made use of his support and mediation in difficult cases, and finally derived strength from his personally sharing with him both his sorrows and joys. To his great grief, Gondulf died before him on the third Sunday in Lent, March 8, 1108, after a long illness. Anselm imparted to him extreme unction, and solemnized his funeral obsequies. The crosier (pro more) was brought by Anselm's Chaplain to Canterbury, and in the presence of the Chapter laid upon the High Altar of the Cathedral. On his death-bed, Gondulf had designated Radulf, the Abbot of Sééz, as one whom he wished to succeed him, since he silently placed his ring on his finger. Anselm fulfilled the wish of his dying friend, and in an assembled Chapter at Canterbury, on the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29, 1108), appointed the Abbot to the Bishoprick, caused him to be inducted at Rochester by the Archdeacon William, and the Sub-Prior Antonius, and administered unto him consecration on the 9th August, at Canterbury.


CHAPTER THE FOURTEENTH.

THE DEATH OF ANSELM.

Anselm continued his ascetic life as Archbishop, which since his monastic days, had become a second nature. Eadmer tells us,⁽¹⁾ " he ate so little, that men wondered how he could subsist upon it. Only when he was deeply engaged in a lengthened disputation, which made him forget every thing else, he ate more than usual, because we who sat nearest to him, pushed forward one piece of bread after another, without his noticing it. But if there were no guests there, or no 'quæstio spiritualis' to be discussed, he scarcely tasted the food, and after a few bits, was all ear for the text of scripture which was then read. Yet he would not allow others to be under restraint on his account, but



(1) Quando ergo ait aliquis, manducabat? manducabat plane inter loquendum, parce quidem, et ut mirareris unde viveret. An. Vit 15.



when he saw that they delayed eating out of respect to him, he requested them not to be interrupted: and if he perceived any who relished their food, he smiled upon them with a benignant countenance, and said, 'May it agree with you'. For as Eadmer elsewhere remarks, he was of a most cheerful disposition,⁽¹⁾ "*homo jocunditate præstantissimus*." After the alarming illness which he suffered in summer 1106, the Queen wrote to him a letter of the most tender anxiety,⁽²⁾ in which she applied all her erudition, to induce him to take more care of his body. For otherwise his strength must gradually diminish, and especially his generally weak voice, become still weaker, so that only those who stood near him would understand any thing, but the others would go away unedified by his preaching.⁽³⁾ Tully observes in his book, *de senectute*; *oratoris munus non ingenii est solum: sed laterum etiam et virium*. "You must also eat and drink, dear Father, for you have yet, if God be willing, a considerable track of the way to travel, a rich seed to sow, to cleanse from weeds, to reap and gather into the barn of the Lord, where no thief dares venture, you know the harvest is great and the labourers are few,—reflect, that you also are a

(1) *Ubi autem aliquos (alios) libenter edentes advertebat, affabili vultus jucunditate super eos aspiciebat, et adgandens levata modicum dextra benedicebat eis, dicens: Bene faciat vobis.* An. Vit. II. 15.

(2) An. Ep. III. 55.

(3) *Metuendum—ne vox spiritualium aedificatrix raucescat, et quæ canorum ac dulce Dei verbum decore, quieto remissoque sermone dispensare consueverat, id tanto remissius in futurum exequatur: ut quosque aliquantisper a te remotiores audientia ipsius vocis privatos, fructu etiam vacuos derelinquat.*

John: like as the Lord entrusted to him his mother, the Virgin, so he hath committed the Mother Church to you, and how many brothers and sisters of Christ, which he hath purchased with his own blood, and entrusted to you, will daily be exposed to danger, if you will not take them unto yourself with more carefulness." The Queen then thus proceeds, "He will assuredly appeal to examples from the Old Testament, to Moses, who received the Law fasting, to Elias, Elisha, and Daniel; yea, perhaps to the Heathen philosophers, Pythagoras, Socrates, and Antisthenes." But she wishes to bring before him the examples from the New Testament. "Jesus Christ, who has sanctified fasting, sanctified also eating, since he was at the marriage in Cana; at the hospitable board of the Pharisee, (Luke xiv.) and with Zaccheus. Hear also, Father, the Apostle Paul, how he writes to Timothy, 'Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities.' (1 Tim. v. 23.) Imitate Gregory, who under bodily weakness, strengthened himself with meat and drink, and then vigorously carried on his preaching," &c. Anselm heartily thanked the Queen for her friendly warning, and assured her that fasting was not in any way injurious to him, and least of all, to his voice,⁽¹⁾ and "O that I had as much wisdom and strength of the spirit, as I have voice and bodily power, in order to discharge my office." He could also eat when it was necessary, and would as far as it was his duty: nor did he indeed in his later years

(1) Ep. III. 57.

carry asceticism to excess : at least, wine was drunk at his table.⁽¹⁾

Yet the anxiety of the Queen was not without foundation. In his earlier years he had exacted too much from his body, and the consequence of his frequent fasting and watching, was an indisposition, attended with sleeplessness and loss of appetite, which attacked him at intervals from his fiftieth year, and usually turned into a feverish ague, which after its removal, left for a considerable time those "tetra vestigia,"⁽²⁾ as he once called them, "fastidium et insomnium." As he advanced in age, these attacks became more frequent, and injurious to his general health. Yet his, in other respects, good constitution, resisted them until 1106, the 73rd year of his life. He then fell dangerously ill, and although he once more recovered, yet a fresh attack came on in the Spring 1107, and again confined him to his bed for two months. From that time his constitution was broken : he rallied indeed, but remained so feeble, that he could no longer journey on horseback, but must be carried in a litter. He only slowly finished his treatise "On the concord between divine Prescience and human freedom," yet continued his usual active habits. In July, 1108, he suffered another attack, on the occasion of that assembly of the Peers in the vicinity of Chichester, before Henry I.'s embarkation

(1) This appears from Ep. III. 77. from Bec 1103. Domino Roberto, qui custodit domum nostram ut totum vinum nostrum, quod Cantuarie dimisi, vobis tribuat et secundum voluntatem Domini Prioris in vestrum usum expendat.

(2) Ep. II. 44-47.

for Normandy, Anselm⁽¹⁾ had arrived at the harbour from which the King was about to go on board, in order to give him his benediction. But in the night preceding the morning when he was to have crossed the arm of the sea which separated him from the King, he became so ill that he must remain on the opposite shore, and it required several days before he could be brought back to Pagaham, the nearest village of the Archbishoprick. From this time, his weakness daily increased, as he wrote to inform a friend,⁽²⁾ and he never left Canterbury after Michaelmas, 1108. All food was nauseous to him: it was with an effort that he could eat any thing, which indeed rather irritated his stomach, than strengthened him. His sickness continued for half a year, yet he attended to his duties as well as he was able. Indeed it was no longer possible for him to go into the Church on foot: but he was daily carried there in a chair, "for even only to be present at this holy service, particularly contributed to his edification." Towards the end of

(1) Eodem tempore Rex Normanniam ire parabat, Anselmus autem ad benedicendum illi, portum maris ubi transire debebat, ab eo invitatus advenit, sed nocte, cum sequenti mane brachiolum maris quo Regis hospitium ab hospitio Anselmi dirimebatur, Regi locuturus transire deberet, adeo infirmatus est, ut ad Regem accedere nullo pacto valeret.

Quod ubi nuntiatum est Regi, ei per Willielmum Episcopum Wintoniensem et ejusdem nominis Episcopum Excestrensem præcipiendo mandavit, ne ad se ullatenus iret sed plenæ indulgeret quieti. Hist. Nov. IV. 79.

Anselm probably came from Pagham to Itchenor, and the "brachiolum maris" was the part of Chichester harbour at the entrance into the Bosham creek.

(2) Helgot Abbot of St. Audoen. Ep. III. 129. "omnia mihi—prospera sunt, præter corporis imbecillitatem quam quotidie mihi crescere sentio."

his life, his attendants in vain attempted to keep him away, because every time he was fatigued by it. He yielded to them only on the fifth day before his death.

This was on the Friday before Passion week in 1109. After that time he lay still in his bed and addressed words of pious exhortation to every one who visited him. On Palm Sunday some one of those present said it seemed that he would keep this Easter at the court of a different master from that of his earthly king. "It seems so," he replied, "and I shall gladly obey his call, yet I should also feel grateful, if he would grant me a longer time with you, and it could be permitted me to solve a question in which I now feel a lively interest: 'on the origin of the soul.' If I could only enjoy a little food I might again recover, for with the exception of external weakness I feel no pain." But on Tuesday evening his words were no longer intelligible: thus his voice was dead. Then Radulf, Bishop of Rochester asked him whether he would not once more impart a blessing and absolution to his present and absent children, to the King and Queen, as well as to the people of the land which were under his spiritual government. He at once raised himself up, made a sign of the cross with his right hand, and sunk on his bed with his head on his breast. After midnight as the brothers were chaunting the early matins in the cathedral, one of those who watched about him, took the Gospel book and read to him the passion text which was customarily introduced in the service of that day. When he came to the words "ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, and

I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom," (Luke xxii, 28-30.) Anselm began to breath more heavily. They immediately assembled the brothers and prayed for him in silence. At the morning dawn on the Wednesday before Easter, 21st April, 1109, in the 76th year of his life and 16th of his Pontificate, he fell asleep, and on Maunday Thursday was buried in the Cathedral at Lanfranc's head.⁽¹⁾

"And I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth; Yea saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." Rev. xiv, 13.

(1) Ans. Vit. II. 26. Hist. Nov. IV. 82. Post hæc xi Kal. Maii defunctus est, et die sequenti quæ fuit Cœna Domini in majori Ecclesia ad caput venerandæ memoriæ Lanfranci Prædecessoris sui honorifice sepultus.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- Page 12. Note, for "gettis" read—gestis.
30. Note, for "præmium," read—prœmium.
47. 23rd line, for "but," read—and.
49. 9th line, I have mistaken the sense of this passage, and would substitute the following: "And so it might come to this, that both Church and State would be reduced to that utter want of freedom in their relations to each other which resulted at last in the Byzantine Empire, that ruin of the Roman, after the separation from the West."
55. 15th line, before "position," insert—her.
86. Note, for "heeregewand," read—heergewand.
131. 3rd line from bottom of page, insert—he.
145. For "Gerard," read—Gerhard.
155. For "smitted," read—smitten.
174. Middle of the page, for "most," read—must.
189. 19th line, insert—July
189. Note, for "bryebote," read—brycbote.
190. For "during," read—after.
224. 4th line, for "three" I thought we ought to read six. But the German is "drei." Probably the sentence was only as yet carried out on three.

To renew the charge, book must be brought to the desk.

TWO WEEK BOOK

DO NOT RETURN BOOKS ON SUNDAY

DATE DUE